

PHILIP MAYERSON (1918-2016)

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Philip Mayerson, Professor Emeritus of Classics at New York University, was born on May 20, 1918, and died on April 13, 2016, just a month short of his 98th birthday. The youngest of four children of immigrant parents in Brooklyn, Mayerson attended public schools there and then worked as a bookkeeper while studying part-time at Brooklyn College. During World War II he served in the U.S. Navy in the South Pacific; like many veterans of that war, he did not care to talk about his experiences in later years. After the war, he attended New York University on the G.I. bill. He spent his entire postwar career at NYU, where he received his A.B. in 1947 and his Ph.D. in 1956, and taught for forty years, rising through the ranks from Instructor to Professor and retiring in 1988. He also served the university as Vice Dean, Acting Dean, and then Dean of Washington Square and University College (Dean 1973-1978), altogether dedicating nearly a decade to administration during some of the most difficult years in the university's history.

His life-long interest in the agricultural life of southern Palestine was already the focus of his dissertation, "Arid zone farming in antiquity: a study of ancient agricultural and related hydrological practices in southern Palestine." Just after receiving his doctorate, Mayerson spent a year in Jerusalem as visiting scholar at the Hebrew University, with the assistance of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. In the fall of 1957 he married Ann Barkow, with whom he had two daughters, Miriam and Clare, who survive him. (I am indebted to Miriam Mayerson for much of the information in this memorial.) A first article on the Negev appeared in *BASOR* 153 (1959), and after that a steady stream of publications on this domain established him as an expert on the region and on agriculture. Taking advantage of the material found by the Colt Expedition at Nessana, he published *The Ancient Agricultural Regime of Nessana and the Central Negev* in 1961; this appeared also the following year in the first volume of *Excavations at Nessana*, drawing heavily on the papyri published in 1958 (*P.Ness.* 3 = *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. III) but also on the archaeological finds, including archaeobotanical remains. A leave in 1961-1962, soon after promotion to associate professor and also spent in Israel, was supported by a

fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies. In the 1960s and 1970s he taught on television for Sunrise Semester, an experience he seems to have enjoyed greatly.

Over the next three decades, Mayerson continued to publish on a wide gamut of aspects of the history, archaeology, geography, and texts of the region in late antiquity, ranging across literary, documentary, and legal sources. A relatively fallow period can be seen during his administrative years, which coincided in large part with the years after his wife's death in 1971, leaving him with two children to raise. In 1976 he was remarried, to Joy Gottesman Ungerleider, and he spent a year as visiting professor at the Hebrew University (1978-1979) just after his service as dean ended. From this point, one sees a marked upswing in publication in the following years, during which he and Joy traveled frequently to Israel. Forty of his articles in this domain were collected in *Monks, Martyrs, Soldiers and Saracens: Papers on the Near East in Late Antiquity (1962-1993)*, published by the Israel Exploration Society in association with NYU (Jerusalem 1994). Many of these articles are papyrological in character, mostly having appeared in *ZPE*. In the same year that the book appeared, Joy Ungerleider-Mayerson died.

By this point, Mayerson was 75 and had been retired for five years, but he went on to publish very actively over the next fifteen years or so, including in *BASP*, the most recent contribution here being a short article on the Pharanitai in *BASP* 47 (2010); he continued his scholarly work until his mid-90s, and only in his last decade did he reduce his frequent trips from Westchester into New York for his research. His later work is particularly devoted to measures, especially of wine, a subject long of interest to him and on which he contributed a section to the first volume of the publication of the excavations at Ashkelon (2008). The combination of papyrological and archaeological evidence visible in his early work remained a feature of his scholarship right to the end.

Through the Dorot Foundation, of which Joy Ungerleider-Mayerson was president, Mayerson was a generous supporter of the American Society of Papyrologists and its *Bulletin*.

SCHOLIA MINORA TO *ILIAD* 2.212-225 AND 272-295

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Abstract. — Edition of an unpublished papyrus from the first/second century containing scholia minora to the second book of the *Iliad*; the papyrus belongs to the Plumley collection in Cambridge University Library (inventory number: CUL Plumley 3).

CUL Plumley 3¹

6.8 × 13.8 cm

First/second century

Parts of two columns of a glossary (scholia minora) to the second book of the *Iliad* are extant along the fibres of CUL Plumley 3, a fragment of papyrus roll now housed in Cambridge University Library. The designation “CUL Plumley” identifies Coptic and Greek papyri and parchment manuscripts found among the papers of Jack Martin Plumley (1910-1999), Egyptologist at Cambridge University, alongside the collection of Frederick William Green (1869-1949). A separate classification was given to these manuscripts as no evident connection with Green could be found, although it is probable that at least some of the items labelled as “Plumley” belong to the Green collection.² Both the Green and the Plumley manuscripts entered Cambridge University Library in 2000 as a donation of Plumley’s widow, Ursula Plumley. Details of provenance are not recorded for any of the items comprised; Sarah J. Clackson identified

¹ I am grateful to the curator of the collection, Catherine Ansorge, for permission to study and publish this piece, to Nikolaos Gonis for comments on drafts of this paper, and to Anna Johnson for the conservation of this papyrus fragment. I also wish to thank two anonymous *BASP* reviewers for their comments and suggestions. Remaining errors are of course my responsibility. The image of the papyrus is reproduced by the kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

² This is suggested by the presence of some leaves from *La Bourse Égyptienne* of 28th May 1914 in one of the boxes where the items were kept, as some of the Green manuscripts were packed with sheets from the same newspaper. A separate box of papyri associated with Plumley was also found in the Faculty of Oriental Studies together with a letter from Green; three of the manuscripts were recognised by Sarah J. Clackson as clearly related to the Green collection (now CUL Green 7, 8, and 9), while the rest of the box received the classification “Plumley” in the absence of other evidence. All the information about the recovery and the identification of the items in the Green and the Plumley collections is taken from Sarah J. Clackson’s Report, 21/02/2001 (Manuscripts Department, Cambridge University Library).

some of the Green papyri as coming from the monasteries of Apa Apollo at Deir el-Balayza and Bawit.³

The fragment belongs to the upper part of the roll; the upper margin is preserved to 2.2 cm, and the intercolumnium measures 1.1 cm at its narrowest point. The back was reused for a list of payments (unpublished). The piece has suffered considerable damage and is almost divided in two vertically; there is a repair with a small patch of papyrus of 1.6 × 1.2 cm to the top edge of the back, at 2.5 cm from the right margin of that side, which has slightly overlapped the edges of the two sides of the fragment. The overlap is visible in the photo at 3 cm from the left edge, at the end of lines i.1-12. The ends of lines i.1, 6-9, and 11-12 are displaced downwards by nearly the height of one line, and two strips, containing lines i.6 and i.11 respectively, remain partly folded.

The hand is a medium-sized example of Turner's "informal round" style.⁴ Bilinearity is generally observed: only *rho*, *phi*, and *psi* extend below the baseline. The descenders of these letters sometimes curve leftwards at the foot, while serifs frequently embellish the apices of *alpha*, *delta*, *eta*, *mu*, *nu*, *pi*, *tau*, and *upsilon*. There is no contrast between thick and thin lines. Letters frequently touch each other, but ligatures are sporadic and particularly occur in the sequence *epsilon-iota*. *Alpha* is written both in the looped and in the angular shape. Other notable letter forms are *epsilon* with a long cross-bar, *mu* with the curving middle touching the baseline, *omicron* generally of a smaller size, *upsilon* of the long-tailed type written in three strokes, *phi* with a slightly flattened loop, and *omega* with mid-peak at full height. Comparable hands are found in e.g. P.Berol. 6926 (second half 1st c.), P.Fay. 110 (94) and P.Oxy. 73.4956 (146/7); a date in the first or second century can be thus suggested for this piece.

Each entry begins a new line. Lemma and gloss are separated by a small blank space, not organized in separate columns, as is common for scholia minora; a gloss continuing from the previous line is slightly indented below its lemma (see lines ii.4, 10).⁵ Several lemmata receive two equivalent

³ In particular, provenance from Deir el-Balayza has been attributed to CUL Green 88, while the manuscripts connected with the Bawit Monastery of Apollo are CUL Green 1, 5, 6, published as *P.Mon.Apollo* 42, 56, 60; and CUL Green 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, and 86, published as *P.Bawit Clackson* 5 (= Green 2), 25 (= Green 3), 47 (= Green 4), 2 (= Green 7 side A), 3 (= Green 7 side B), 85 (= Green 8 side A), 10 (= Green 8 side B), and 22 (= Green 86). Cf. S.J. Clackson, *Coptic and Greek Texts Relating to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo* (Oxford 2000) 13.

⁴ E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. (London 1987) 21.

⁵ The arrangement of the text in this papyrus is not uncommon and finds several parallels, e.g. *P.Amh.* 2.18; *P.Amst.* 1.5; *P.Ant.* 2.70; 3.150; *P.Oxy.* 56.3832; 67.4633 = J. Spooner,

interpretations, the second one being preceded by καί (lines i.8, 9, 11). This practice is rarely attested elsewhere: parallels are found in e.g. *P.Aphrod. Lit.* II F^o 3 ↓ 5, F^o 6 ↓ 17, → 9, F^o 9 ↓ 24, F^o 13 ↓ 17; P.Stras. inv. 33.ix.4;⁶ P.Köln inv. 2281.iii.6;⁷ *P.Sijp.* 2.i.14-16, 17-18. In other papyri, when two synonymous glosses are supplied, they are simply juxtaposed or separated by ῥ; this is also the case in the D scholia and generally in the comparative lexicographical testimonies.⁸

The papyrus has no lectional signs. At line i.6 the last three letters of a gloss reaching the margin of the column are written above the line, in a smaller size. The shapes of *nu* and *sigma* are different from the other examples in the text, and the ink is slightly darker: it may be either a correction by a second hand or an addition by the same hand in a faster, less careful style. Letters in the interlinear space are also visible above lines i.13 and ii.12; these seem written by the original scribe. The lemmata at lines ii.3 and 13 appear preceded by a curved stroke at full height, probably a deletion mark.⁹

What remains of the first column contains scholia to *Il.* 2.212-225; the second column preserves only the initial part of scholia to *Il.* 2.272-295. The glosses on the lines covered are less frequent than in overlapping papyri and not evenly distributed: apparently, the papyrus does not comment on 277-291. Probably there were other gaps in the lines glossed in the lost portion of the first column: the extant part of the column has 13 entries for 24 lines, while the Homeric text has 48 lines between the last lemma preserved in the first column and the first one in the second column. If the proportion between verses and entries observed in the extant section were maintained throughout the first column, there would be about 26 entries lost in the break. Since the 13 entries preserved occupy 19 lines,

Nine Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchos (Firenze 2002) 87-105; 4635 = *ibid.* 117-129; 75.5034; *P.Sijp.* 2. Most other papyri containing scholia minora, however, have lemmata and glosses arranged in two parallel columns: cf. L.M. Raffaelli, "Repertorio dei papiri contenenti scholia minora in Homerum," *Ricerche di Filologia Classica* 2 (Pisa 1984) 173-174.

⁶ A. Henrichs, "Scholia Minora zu Homer I," *ZPE* 7 (1971) 119-148.

⁷ A. Henrichs, "Scholia Minora zu Homer II," *ZPE* 7 (1971) 229-252.

⁸ For juxtaposition see e.g. *P.Oxy.* 45.3238 Fr.1 i.7-8; *P.Aphrod.Lit.* II F^o 3 → 6, F^o 4 → 11, F^o 6 ↓ 20, *passim*; P.Köln inv. 2281.i.9, 19, iii.23 = Henrichs (n. 7); *P.Amst.* 1.5.4, 8; *P.Oslo* 2.12.i.7, 8 *passim*; cf. also *P.Kell.* 3.Gr. 95 Tab. I^v 18-21, 45-46, 48-49 *passim* (scholia to Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum*). For the use of ῥ see e.g. P.Mich. inv. 1588.i.16 = T. Renner, "Three New Homerica on Papyrus," *HSCP* 83 (1979) 311-337; *P.Oxy.* 45.3238.iv.121.

⁹ For the practice of indicating deletion by enclosing the text in round brackets see Turner (n. 4) 16.

26 calculated in the lost part should have extended to over 38 lines. If this were correct, the first column would have contained about 57 lines, with a height of ca. 31 cm (average letter height and interlinear space calculated at 0.3 and 0.25 cm respectively). Accordingly, since the lower margin in literary papyri is generally at least as broad as the upper, the height of the roll could not have been less than 35 cm.¹⁰ This figure, however, would not fit the average roll height of 25-33 cm calculated by Johnson for the Roman period.¹¹ It thus seems likely that a number of verses between *Il.* 2.225 and 272 received no comments.

Scholia minora to the lines covered in this fragment are also transmitted in P.Hamb. inv. 736 v^o (*Il.* 2.61-222, 2nd c.);¹² *P.Oxy.* 56.3832 (*Il.* 2.201-218, 2nd c.); 67.4632 (*Il.* 2.214-227, 3rd c.);¹³ and 4633 (*Il.* 2.277-293, 307-318, 3rd c.).¹⁴ In most cases, however, overlap is in fact limited to the lemma. Glosses on φοξός, ψεδνή, λάχνη (219), νεμέccηθεν (223), and τέο δ' αὔτε (225) and the entries for lines 272-276 are preserved in this papyrus only. The Plumley fragment is of particular interest as it offers readings mostly not corresponding to those transmitted in other papyri, the D scholia, or other testimonies (grammarians, paraphrases, lexica). Where two glosses are offered for the same lemma, the first generally agrees with the majority of these sources, while the second is unparalleled; both glosses for ψεδνή (219) are attested in the glossographic tradition, although the second occurs less frequently, while neither of the glosses on νεμέccηθεν (223) is found elsewhere. The second interpretation of φοξός (219) is remarkable as it has no parallel in the usual testimonies, but the full entry finds precise correspondence in Erotianus' Hippocratic glossary. The entry for ἔμμεναι (216) is also noteworthy, as the word is not glossed at this point in other papyri or in the D scholia. The lemmata in the papyrus generally agree with the readings in the Homeric text received, except for a banalisation at line i.7 (κυνοχωκοτες), a nominative instead of an accusative at line ii.3 (επεεβολος) and an itacistic mistake at line ii.12, if correctly restored (ανειηθεντα).¹⁵

¹⁰ W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 134.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 141-143.

¹² Th. Vlachodimitris, "Ein Glossar zu *Ilias* B 61-222," *ZPE* 11 (1973) 65-68.

¹³ Spooner (n. 5) 83-85.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 87-105. For a list of the papyri transmitting scholia minora published so far see "Bibliography" in J. Lundon, *The Scholia Minora in Homerum: An Alphabetical List*, Version 1.0 (November 2012) (Köln-Leuven 2012; <http://www.trismegistos.org/dl.php?id=14>). The same work has been used for references to scholia minora supplied in the notes.

¹⁵ Misspellings and minor discrepancies between the lemmata and the readings in the Homeric text, including change of inflection, are commonly found in scholia minora: see

Abbreviations and editions consulted:

- Ap. = A. Ludwich, "Über die homerischen Glossen Apions," *Philologus* 74 (1917) 209-247; 75 (1918) 95-103; reprinted in K. Latte and H. Erbse, *Lexica Graeca minora* (Hildesheim 1965) 287-334 [cited by page and line number as in reprint].
- Ap.Soph. = I. Bekker, *Apollonii sophistae lexicon homericum* (Berlin 1833) [cited by page and line number].
- D = H. van Thiel, *Scholia D in Iliadem. Proecdosis aucta et correctior 2014. Secundum codices manu scriptos* (Köln 2014) (Elektronische Schriftenreihe der Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Köln, 7: <http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/5586/>).
- EGen = F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras, *Etymologicum magnum genuinum. Symeonis etymologicum una cum magna grammatica. Etymologicum magnum auctum*, vol. 1 (α – ἀμωσγέπωσ) (Rome 1976) [cited by entry number].
- EGud = E.L. de Stefani, *Etymologicum Gudianum*, vol. 1 (A – B); vol. 2 (B – Z) (Leipzig 1909-1920, repr. Amsterdam 1965) [cited by page and line number]; F.W. Sturz, *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum et alia grammaticorum scripta e codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum edita* (for ζεαί – ω) (Leipzig 1818, repr. Hildesheim 1973) [cited by column and line number].
- EM = T. Gaisford, *Etymologicum magnum* (Oxford 1848, repr. Amsterdam 1962) [cited by column and line number].
- Ep.Hom. = A.R. Dyck, *Epimerismi Homerici. Pars 2, epimerismos continens qui ordine alphabetico traditi sunt. Lexicon "Aimōdein" quod vocatur seu verius "Etymologiai Diaphoroi"* (Berlin 1995) [cited by entry number].
- Eust. = M. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, vol. 1 praefationem et commentarios ad libros A – Δ complectens (Leiden 1971) [cited by page and line number].
- Hsch. = K. Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vols. 1-2 (A – O) (Copenhagen 1953-1966); P.A. Hansen, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vol. 3 (II – Σ) (Berlin 2005); I.C. Cunningham and P.A. Hansen, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vol. 4 (Σ – Ω) (Berlin 2009) [cited by entry number].
- Lex.Hom. = H. van Thiel, *Lexeis Homerikai* (Köln 2002) (<http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/1815/>) [cited by entry number].
- Orion = F.W. Sturz, *Orionis Thebani etymologicon* (Leipzig 1820, repr. Hildesheim 1973) [cited by column and line number].
- PB = paraphrasis Bekkeri: I. Bekker, "Παράφρασις τῆς Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάδος," in *Scholiorum in Homeri Iliadem appendix* (Berlin 1827) 651-811.

J. Landon, "Lexeis from the Scholia Minora in Homerum," *ZPE* 124 (1999) 25-26; cf. J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VI^e siècle: la bibliothèque et l'oeuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité*, 2 vols. (Cairo 1999) vol. 1, 101-103.

- [illegible]

Col. ii

- εοργε[(272)
 κορυ[ccων (273)
 επεεβ₁ολογ[(275)
 λ₁ωγ[
 5 λωβητηρα[(275)
 ε₁χ₁ α₁γο₁ρα₁ων . [(275)
 ου θην [(276)
 πα₁λιν[αυτι₁c (276)
 α₁γη₁νω₁ρ[(276)
 10 θα₁δ₁η₁c[
 α₁μ₁ε[
 [vac.?]χα . [(291)
 αν₁ει[ηθε₁ντα (291)
 νε₁ε[₁cθαι (295)
 ει₁ν[ατο₁c
 15 [(295)
 . [(295)
 . [(295)
 . [(295)
 . [(295)
 20 ξ . [(295)

Col. i

1 ἀμετρο]επιης[*vac.*] η[. .]αα

The papyrus is heavily damaged at this point. A small break occurs immediately after the end of the lemma ἀμετροεπής (212); a blank space separating the lemma from the gloss is expected. The top and bottom of a large semicircle open to the left is visible at the right of the lacuna, with the center stripped away. This is expected to be the first letter of the gloss; however, no letter seems compatible with the trace. It could not be the right-hand side of a round letter, such as *omicron*, as this would be too large and high, and would leave no space between the lemma and the gloss. On the basis of lines ii.3 and 13, it could be a round bracket indicating deletion of the lemma, assuming that another bracket corresponding to it preceded the lemma. This is followed by the lower part of an upright linked to a descending diagonal slightly curved leftwards: it may be the lower part of a *kappa* on the basis of the shape of *kappa* in καί at line i.11, although the scribe curves the bottom diagonal in the opposite direction in every other example in the text. *Chi* is unlikely on the basis of the examples at lines i.8, 14, and ii.6. The letter is followed by the lower part of a stroke curving rightwards, touching the base of a circular stroke with a horizontal trace in the middle. It could be the tail of a narrow *alpha* (cf. e.g. the second *alpha* at line i.2) linked to the base of *theta*, although there would be no trace of the loop at the left of the tail. The remains of the following letter are compatible with *eta*. A lacuna of the width of either one wide or two narrow letters follows, after which it is possible to read the sequence *alpha-sigma-alpha*. The reading καθη[. .]αα would find no correspondence in any of the glosses transmitted in the comparative testimonies on ἀμετροεπής. If the semicircle following the lemma were correctly interpreted as a deletion mark, the reading could perhaps refer to a different lemma. It may be possible to suggest καθη[δρ]αα, a misspelling for καθέδραα, presumably part of the gloss on ἐρήτυθεν at the previous line (211), on the basis of D on ἐρήτυθεν at *Il.* 2.99: κατεῖχον ἕκαστος τὰς ἑαυτοῦ καθέδρας (also EM 373, 12: ἐρήτυθεν δὲ καθέδρας: ἀντὶ τοῦ κατεῖχον ἕκαστος τὰς ἑαυτῶν καθέδρας). The final *alpha*, however, would not be compatible with such a restoration. Note that the gloss on ἀμετροεπής in h36 West is also apparently unattested elsewhere.

Scholia minora: h34 West α[μετροεπις; h36 West αμετροε]πις· [] εν . . . [] . . γων || D: ἀμετροεπής: ἄμετρος ἐν τῷ λέγειν (I¹), ἰ φλύαρος (Aⁱⁱ) ZYQXI || PB, PW: ὁ ἄμετρος ἐν τῷ λέγειν || Sch^{bT} (ex.) 212d: ἀμετροεπής: ... ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπεραντολόγον τοῦτόν φαμεν ... || Hsch. α3619: *ἀμετροεπής· φλύαρος b ἄμετρος ἐν τῷ λέγειν Sb || Eust. 312, 11, 16:

ἀμετροεπής δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἀπεραντολόγος κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ μὴ μέτρον εἰδὼς λόγου ... τινὲς δὲ ἀμετροεπὴ λέγουσι τὸν ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἄτακτον || Sch.Mosch.: ἀμετροεπής: ἀπεραντολόγος.

2] ιεῖς ἀπεραν . . c

The line opens with a blank space of the width of about one letter, suggesting that a short lemma has been lost at the left edge. The base of an upright is then visible below a small hole: *iota* seems the only possible restoration, as the lacuna would be too narrow for containing any other letter. The rest of the line is mostly clear. In ἀπεραν . . c the right vertical of *nu* is lost. On a semi-detached piece of papyrus, a short slightly diagonal line is then visible, followed by another diagonal stroke facing the opposite direction. These could be part of the same letter, namely *kappa*, *chi*, *lambda*, or *alpha* with a very narrow loop (cf. the second *alpha* at line i.11); none of these, however, would be compatible with the sequence ἀπεραν-. It may be plausible to interpret the first slightly diagonal line as the base of an upright stroke, supposedly the vertical of a *tau*, followed by the left-hand side of a round letter, which could be *omicron*, *omega*, or *epsilon*. The tiny piece on which these traces are written overlaps with the papyrus containing the end of the word. A small trace of ink is visible immediately below the fibres containing the supposed vertical of *tau*; this is probably from the right-hand side of the following letter, and appears as a short diagonal linked to a short horizontal. It could be the end of the top curve of *epsilon* touching the end of the cross-bar (cf. *epsilon* at line i.10), or perhaps the end of the right curve of *omega* with a serif (cf. *omega* at lines i.16 and ii.5), or the joining extremities of *omicron* (cf. *omicron* at line i.9). Final *sigma* is almost entirely visible. A possible restoration might be *ιεῖς ἀπεράντως*, “endlessly hurling (words)”; this would have no parallel in the comparative testimonies, and there is no obvious lemma to which such a gloss could refer besides ἀμετροεπής. ἀπεράντως would be comparable with ἀπεραντολόγος for ἀμετροεπής in the scholia exegetica, Eustathius and Moschopoulos; cf. also Galenus, *Adversus ea quae a Juliano in Hippocratis aphorismos enuntiata sunt libellus*, ed. Kühn, vol. 18a, 253, 10-11.¹⁷ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀπεραντολογώτερον τάνθρώπου· “Θερσίτης δ’ ἔτι μούνοσ ἀμετροεπής ἐκολῶα” (Il. 2.212). Also Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon* VI 146:¹⁸ εἰς δὲ τὸν πολλὰ οὐ μὴν κεκριμένα λέγοντα, ... ἀπέραντος ἀπεραντολόγος, ... ἄμετρος ἀμετροεπής.

¹⁷ C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, 20 vols. (Leipzig 1821-33, repr. Hildesheim 1965).

¹⁸ E. Bethe, *Pollucis onomasticon*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1900-1931) vol. 2, 39.

3 (213) ἄκοσμα = ἀδίδακτα

The gloss ἀδίδακτα in the papyrus is not otherwise attested.

Scholia minora: h36 West ακοσμα·] αδια[τακτα || D: ἄκοσμα: ἀπρεπῇ (I), ἄτακτα Z || Lex.Hom. ε254: ἄκοσμα: ἀδιάτακτα ΟΥ, | ἀπρεπῇ Ο, | ἄπρακτα U || PB: ῥήματα ... ἀπρεπῇ || PW: λόγους ... ἀτάκτους || Hsch. α2501: *ἄκοσμα· ἄτακτα vgn (AS) ἀπρεπῇ (AS) || Syn. Σ α260 (CD) = Σ' α710, Phot. α798, Sud. α933: ἄκοσμα· ἀπρεπῇ, ἄτακτα || EGen α352: ἄκοσμα· ἀπρεπῇ, ἄτακτα, μωρά B || EM 51, 22: ἄκοσμα: ἀπρεπῇ, ἄτακτα, μωρά, ἄδηλα || Eust. 312, 13-14: ἄκοσμα δέ, διότι μάτην καὶ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἤριξε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι.

4 (215) εἴταιτο = φανείη

The reading offered in the papyrus also occurs in h36 West; other than there, it is found in the scholia exegetica only.

Scholia minora: h36 West εικαιτο·] φανειη; hl33 West εικατο[|| D: ... εἴταιτο ... : ... ἂν ἐνόμιζεν ... ΖΥQXIG; Tr ἐγίνωσκεν || PB: ἂν ἐνόμιζε || PW: φαίνοιτο || Sch^{bT} (ex.) 215b: εἴταιτο: φανείη, δόξειεν; Sch^{bT} (Ariston.) 215c: ... ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐδόκει ... || Hsch. ε1084: *εἴταιτο· δόξειεν AS ὁμοιοῖτο || Ep.Hom. ε57: εἴταιτο: †ἐδοξεν, ἐφάνη† ... O; cf. EGud 433, 10: εἴτατο· ἐδοξεν, ἐφάνη

5 (215) ἔμμεναι = εἶναι

The lemma does not occur at this point in the overlapping papyri and in the D scholia. This might be due to the fact that the term was already discussed at a previous occurrence, for instance at *Il.* 1.117, 1.287 or 2.129. It is, however, worth observing that the D scholia offer the lemma at several different lines in the text.

Scholia minora: *P.Oxy.* 24.2405.160 (*Il.* 1.117): ἔμμεναι· εἶναι || D on 1.287: ἔμμεναι: εἶναι ... ΖΥQ; on 2.129 = 2.249: ἔμμεναι: εἶναι ΖΥQXIⁱ; also on 2.783: ἔμμεναι: εἶναι, ὑπάρχειν ... ΖΥQ || Lex.Hom. ε317: ἔμμεναι: εἶναι, ὑπάρχειν OSU || PB, PW: εἶναι || Hsch. ε2374: *ἔμμεναι· καθέζεσθαι Α εἶναι †ἔως αὐτοῦ AS ἢ ἐπίμενε S || EGud 463, 5: ἔμμεναι: ... τὸ γὰρ ὑπάρχω σημαίνει ... || EM 335, 10: ἔμμεναι: ἀπὸ ἐνεστώτος· (τὸ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ὑπάρχειν σημαίνει·) εἰμί

6 (217) φολκός = τὴν ὄψιν διετραμμένον

The top of the right vertical of *eta* and the apices of *nu* in τὴν appear linked through a thinner horizontal stroke, probably an accidental move with the pen. Two other examples of *nu* with the apices connected through a thin line occur at line i.18. *Tau* and *rho* in διετραμμένον are not visible

in the photo because of a fold in the final part of the strip; their presence has been ascertained during conservation work, as the fold could be temporarily opened.

The readings transmitted in the papyri differ from one another; *τραβός* in h36 West is the gloss generally reported in later sources. *τὴν ὄψιν διεστραμμένον* in this fragment is also comparable to the reading in the D scholia and in the paraphrasis Bekkeri, but precise correspondence occurs in Eustathius only; see also on *Il.* 9.503:¹⁹ *παραβλῶπας ... τουτέστι διεστραμμένας τὴν ὄψιν*; and on 12.310:²⁰ *μυλλός δὲ ὁ διεστραμμένον τὴν ὄψιν*. A parallel reading is also offered in a scholion to *Ar. Thesm.* 846:²¹ *τυφλός, διεστραμμένον τὴν ὄψιν*.

Scholia minora: h36 West *φολκος*·] *τραβος*; h133 West *φολκος*· [---] *ινους του*[c ---] || D: *φολκός*: *τὰς ὄψεις διάτροφος, ὃ ἐστὶν ἰ τραβός* (A^uIⁱ) || PB: *τὰς ὄψεις διάτροφος* || PW: *τραβός* || *Ap. Soph.* 164, 17: *φολκός*. ... *ἔστι δὲ οἶον φαολκός, ὃ τὰ φάη εἰλκυμένος, οἶον τραβός* || *Lex. Hom.* φ82: *φολκός*: *τραβός* OSU || Sch^A (Ariston.) 217a: *φολκός*: ... *ἔστι δὲ φολκός ὃ τὰ φάη εἰλκυμένος, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐστραμμένος*; Sch^{bT} (ex.) 217b: ... *ἔστιν οὖν ἐφελκόμενος τὰ φάη ...* || Sch. Gen.: *φολκός*] *ὁ τραβός, οἶον φαολκός, ὃ τὰ φάη εἰλκυμένος* || Hsch. φ730: **φολκός*: *τραβός* (vg³A⁶Br²⁴³Σ). *οἱ δὲ λιπόδερμον* || *Orion* 159, 24: *φολκός*. *παρὰ τὸ τὰ φάη παρέλκεσθαι, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ τραβός λεγόμενος* || *Er. Hom.* φ35: *φολκός*: *παρὰ τὸ τὰ φάη εἰλκυμένα ἔχειν· εἰλκυμένον γὰρ λέγουσιν τὸν τραβόν* O || *Sud.* φ565, Phot. φ253, Syn. Σ φ164: *φολκός*: *τραβός* ABC || *EGud* 555, 34: *φολκός*: *ὁ τράβος, παρὰ τὸ τὰ φάη ἐλκυμένα ἔχειν· ἐλκυμένον γὰρ λέγεται τὸ τράβον* || *EM* 798, 3: *φολκός*: *παρὰ τὸ τὰ φάη παρέλκεσθαι* || *Eust.* 314, 21-22, 30-33 and 315, 1: *ἔστι δὲ φολκός μὲν ὁ τραβός, ὃ τὰ φάη, τουτέστι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, μὴ ὀρθὰ ἔχων ἀλλὰ ἐστραμμένα καὶ παρελκυμένα τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ὀρθότητος ... Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὰ κατὰ τὸν τραβόν οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ οὕτω φράζουσιν· οἱ μὲν, ὅτι βλεπεδαίμων ὁ διεστραμμένον τὰς ὄψεις ... ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι ἰλλός πλάγιος, διεστραμμένον, τραβός ...*. Cf. also *Julius Pollux, Onomasticon* II 51:²²

¹⁹ M. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, vol.2 *praefationem et commentarios ad libros E-I complectens* (Leiden 1976) 774, 10-11.

²⁰ M. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, vol.3 *praefationem et commentarios ad libros K-II complectens* (Leiden 1979) 398, 2.

²¹ R.F. Regtuit, *Scholia in Aristophanem. Pars III, Fasc. 2/3 continens scholia in Aristophanis Thesmophoriazusas et Ecclesiazusas* (Groningen 2007) 49.

²² Bethe (n. 18) vol. 1, 98.

ὀφθαλμία. παραβλώψ, φολκός, διάτροφος, στρεβλός; Herodian, *Partitiones*, ed. Boissonade, 145, 4:²³ φολκός, ὁ στραβός.

7-8 (218) συνοχωκότες (l. συνοχωκότε) = συμπεπτωκότες καὶ συνεχόμενοι

The reading in the papyrus is probably a banalisation; συνοχωκότε occurs correctly in 841 West = *P.Oxy.* 67.4638²⁴, h133 West, tt (*testimonia auctorum antiquorum*), Ω;]τε also in h36 West; συνεχωκέτες 3 West = *P.Lond.Lit.* 5; συνοχωκότε Hsch.

συμπεπτωκότες, restored in the papyrus, corresponds to the gloss generally offered at this point; συνεχόμενοι is unique to this glossary. On the spelling and etymology of the lemma (cf. συνοχωκότε in Hesychius) see P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, 2nd ed. (Paris 2009) 1033 (on συνοχωκότε); *LSJ Rev. Suppl.* (Oxford 1996) 287 (on συνόχωκα).

Scholia minora: h34 West c[υνοχωκοτε; h36 West cυνοχωκο]τε· cυνπεπ[τωκοτε(c)]; h133 West cυνοχωκο[τε· cυνπεπτω]κοτ[ε(c)] || D: cυνοχωκότε: cυμπεπτωκότες (A^{ti}), cυνηγμένοι ZYQXIⁱ (cυνπεπτωκότες Z, cυμπεπτωκότε Aⁱ) || PB, PW: cυμπεπτωκότες || Sch^{bT} (ex.) 218b: cυνοχωκότε: ἀπὸ τοῦ cυνοχωκός, ὃ ἐστὶ cυμπεπτωκότες ... || Hsch. c2675: cυνοχωκότε· ἐπὶ cυμπεπτωκότες ... || EGud 516, 14: cυνοχωκότες, cυμπεπακότες || EM 735, 46: cυνοχωκότε: cυμπεπτωκότε, cυνηγμένω || Eust. 315, 20: τὸ δὲ cυνοχωκότε δηλοῖ μὲν τὸ cυμπεπτωκότες.

9-10 (219) φοξός = ὀξυκέφαλος καὶ προμέτωπος

ὀξυκέφαλος in the papyrus is read in agreement with the D scholia and most of the other sources, while προμέτωπος is not found elsewhere in these testimonies; rather, the gloss occurs almost identically in Erotianus, *Vocum Hippocraticarum collectio*, ed. Nachmanson, 132, 11:²⁵ φοξοί· οἱ ὀξυκέφαλοι καὶ προμέτωποι. The use of the conjunction also in this parallel is noteworthy; double explications separated by καὶ are frequent throughout Erotianus' glossary. It seems remarkable that this parallel appears for the section of Homeric narration concerning the physiognomic description of Thersites: this may suggest that the glossator enriched the interpretations of the lemmata with materials from other glossographic works external to the Homeric tradition.

²³ J.F. Boissonade, *Herodiani partitiones* (London 1819, repr. Amsterdam 1963).

²⁴ Spooner (n. 5) 147-156.

²⁵ E. Nachmanson, *Erotiani vocum Hippocraticarum collectio cum fragmentis* (Göteborg 1918).

Scholia minora: hl33 West φοξοc[|| D: φοξός: ὀξυκέφαλος ZYQXA^{ti}TⁱGT^r || Lex.Hom. φ70: φοξός: ὀξυκέφαλος OSU² || PB: ὀξός ἦν τὴν κεφαλὴν || PW: ὀξυκέφαλος || Ap.Soph. 164, 19: φοξός: ... σημαίνει δὲ τὸν ὀξυκέφαλον || Sch^A (Ep. Hom.) 219b: φοξός: φοξός: εἴρηται ἀπὸ τῶν κεραμεικῶν ἀγγείων τῶν ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτός ἀπωξυμμένων ... ἔνιοι δὲ κυρίως τὸν ἐπὶ τὰ φάη, τουτέστι τὰ ὄμματα, ἀπωξυμμένην ἔχοντα τὴν κεφαλὴν. †ἀμφοτέρων† τὸ πρότερον || Sch.Gen.: φοξός] ὁ ὀξυκέφαλος ... || Hsch. φ740: *φοξός· λιπό-δερμος. ὀξυκέφαλος vgA¹Bi²⁴⁶Σ || Orion 159, 12: φοξός. φάος τις ὢν, ἀπὸ μεταφοῦ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ περὶ διεστραμμένων ὀστράκινων ἀγγείων ἐν τῷ ὥπτᾶσθαι || Ep.Hom. φ4: φοξός: ἀπὸ μεταφοῦ τῶν κεραμεικῶν ἀγγείων τῶν ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρός ἀποξυμμένων. ἔνιοι δὲ κυρίως τὸν ἐπὶ τὰ φάη, τουτέστι τὰ ὄμματα, ἀποξυμμένην ἔχοντα τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἄμεινον τὸ πρότερον O || Syn. Σ φ167 (ABC), Phot. φ257, Sud. φ577: φοξός: ὀξυκέφαλος || EGud 556, 43: φοξός, ὁ ὀξυκέφαλος ... καὶ ἄλλως· φοξός ὁ διεστραμμένος ἐν τῷ φάει || EM 798, 17: φοξός: ὀξυκέφαλος, ὁ διεστραμμένος τὰ φάη || Eust. 315, 27-30: φοξός δὲ κεφαλὴν λέγεται ὁ εἰς ὀξὺ λήγουσαν ἔχων αὐτὴν, λεγόμενος οὕτω ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξύτητος ἢ κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐξ ὁμοιότητος τῶν πυριρραγῶν ὀστράκων, ἅπερ φοξὰ λέγεται οἶονεῖ τινα φλοξά. Cf. also Herodian, *Partitiones*, ed. Boissonade, 145, 4:²⁶ φοξός, ὁ ὀξυκέφαλος.

11 (219) ψεδνή = μαδαρά καὶ ἀραιά

The first three letters in ἀραιά are not visible in the photo due to a fold in the papyrus; the reading, however, has been confirmed during conservation work, as the strip was temporarily unfolded. The final part of the tail of the second *alpha* is visible near the base of *iota*, the reading of which is partly hindered by damage to the papyrus.

The reading in the papyrus closely agrees with the D scholia, although the word order is inverted; μαδαρός is widely transmitted, while ἀραιός is less commonly attested; but cf. ἀραιόθριξ in Hesychius, Suda, Synagoge and Etymologicum Gudianum (ἀρεόθριξ).

Scholia minora: hl33 West ψεδνη[|| D: ψεδνή: ἀραιά μαδαρά. ZYQXA^{ti}TⁱTⁱ || PB: ἀραιά || PW: λεπτή || Ap.Soph. 169, 19: ψεδνή ἀραιά, μαδαρά, οἷον ἀπεψιλωμένη || Lex.Hom. ψ7: ψεδνή δέ: †διεψευ-σμένη OSU || Hsch. ψ99: *ψεδνή ἢ θρίζ· ἡ ἀραιόθριξ A⁷. «ψεδνή δ' ἐπενήνοθε» μαδαρά ἐπήνθει g³A⁶ || Orion. 168, 4: ψεδνός ... ὁ

²⁶ Boissonade (n. 23).

μαδαρός ... || Ep.Hom. ψ1: ψεδνή: ... σημαίνει δὲ ψεδνός τὸν φαλακρόν
GO || Syn. Σ ψ7: ψεδνός· ἀραιόθριξ, μαδαρός BC || Sud. ψ38: ψεδνή:
ἀραιά. καὶ ψεδνός, ἀραιόθριξ, μαδαρός || EGud 573, 13: ψεδνή: ὀλίγη
... σημαίνει δὲ ψεδνός, τὸν φαλακρόν; cf. 573, 21: ψεδνός: μαδαρός,
ἀρεόθριξ ... || EM 817, 51: ψεδνός: ἀραιός, μαδαρός· σημαίνει δὲ τὸν
φαλακρόν καὶ ψιλὸν τὴν τρίχα || Eust. 316, 13: ἔστι δὲ ψεδνή μὲν ἡ
λεπτή. See also Herodian, *Partitiones*, ed. Boissonade, 150, 10:²⁷ ψεδνός,
ὁ μαδαρός.

] . γ . κτ[

12-13 (219) ἐπενήνοθε = πα[.] . κταιλε |[-ca.6-] . . . [.] .

The traces of ink surviving at line 13 do not reach the end of the column, suggesting that the line was rather short; it seems thus probable that it contained the continuation of the gloss on ἐπενήνοθε. The breaks in the papyrus hinder the reading of the gloss. There is a lacuna of one letter at line 12 after the sequence *pi-alpha*; part of the foot of an upright is then visible at the bottom of the line before *kappa*; this seems compatible with the hooked foot of *eta* at line i.4. The sequence κταιλε is then clearly legible. Line 13 is almost entirely lost in lacuna. If it is to be read as part of the gloss, indentation and alignment with lines i.8 and 10 are assumed, and therefore a loss of about six letters can be calculated in the missing part. Only part of three or four nearly faded letters survives, split horizontally between two joining edges (the lower one is visible above the letters *chi* and *omega* at line i.14). The first curved stroke on the left could be *epsilon*, or *sigma*, or perhaps *omicron*. The two following obliques facing opposite directions are probably part of the same letter, either *chi* or *upsilon*. This is followed by the top of an upright. A spot of ink is then visible at the end on the line, possibly the top of the last letter. The interlinear space between lines 12 and 13 contains writing: two traces are visible after the lacuna, the second one being perhaps compatible with *nu*. A blank space of the width of one letter follows, possibly as the ink has vanished; *kappa* and *tau* are clearly visible before the papyrus breaks off. What remains of the gloss contained in lines 12-13 and in the interlinear space seems not compatible with the reading in any other comparative testimony; possibly, πα[ρ]ηκται may be proposed at line 12, although in this case a preposition such as ἀπό would be expected to follow. If word division is correct, the sequence *lambda-epsilon* at the end of the line might be part of λέγεται or λέγουσι.

²⁷ Boissonade (n. 23).

Scholia minora: hl33 West επεννηνο[θε || D: επενήνοθεν: επήνθει (I'), επέκειτο. ZYQXI. A^u εβεβλαστήκει || PB: επέκειτο || PW: επεπύκνωτο || Ap.Soph. 71, 11: επενήνοθεν επήν, επέκειτο || Lex.Hom. ε557: επενήνοθεν: ανωθεν, επέκειτο OSU || Sch^T (ex.) 219d¹: επενήνοθεν: απο του θεω· υπερβιβασμοδ εθω ... ; Sch^A (Ep. Hom., ex.) 219d²: επενήνοθε: απο του εθω ενεθω, ηνοθα και επενήνοθα ... η απο του θεω υπερβιβασμοδ εθω, ως ρεω ερω· εν συνθεσει ενεθω, ηνοθα και Αττικωδ ενήνοθα; Sch^b (ex.) 219d³: το δε επενήνοθεν απο του θεω, εν υπερβιβασμω εθω, αναδιπλασιασμω ενεθω, ηνοθα και ενήνοθα || Hsch. ε4412: *επενήνοθεν· επήνθει AS. επεστιν. επήν || Orion 124, 11 οθόνη: παρὰ το ὄθω το δηλοῦν τὴν κίνησιν ... «ψεδνή δ' επενήνοθε λάχνη» (Il. 2.219) ενόθω ηνοθεν ενήνοθεν αντι του εκινεϊτο || Ep.Hom. ε58 = EGud 498, 5: επενήνοθεν· ρήμα μεσου παρακειμένου οι μέν, οτι το θέμα εστιν εθω ... και οι Αττικοι το ε του παρακειμένου τρέπουσιν εις ο ... εστι δε και άλλωδ· εστιν ὄθω, το κινω ... O || Sud. ε2057: επενήνοθεν: επήνθει, επέκειτο || EM 354, 41: επενήνοθε: κάλλιόν εστιν αντι του υπήρχεν. εστι δε μεσοδ παρακειμενοδ· οι μέν παρὰ το εθω ... άλλωδ· εκ του εθω, το υπάρχω, γίνεται εέθω ... || Sch.Mosch.: επενήνοθε: απο του θεω ... μάλιστα δηλον γίνεται οτι το επενήνοθεν το επέτρεχε δηλοϊ, ου το επήνθει || Eust. 316, 24-5 and 317, 1-3: το δε επενήνοθεν ... σημαίνει δε το επέθεε και επέτρεχεν ... το θεω, το τρέχω, υπερβιβασθεν και γενόμενον εθω πεποίηκε το επενήνοθεν, ὅπερ εστι χρόνου μεσου παρακειμένου; 317, 11-13: τινεδ δε επενήνοθέ φασιν αντι του επεκινεϊτο απο του ὄθω, το κινω, κατὰ κλίσιν ὁμοίαν μεσου παρακειμένου.

14 (219) λάχνη = τρίχωσις

The interpretation offered on this lemma is reflected in all testimonies.

Scholia minora: h34 West λ[αχνη; hl33 West λαχνη[|| D (ZYQXA^uI'), Lex.Hom. λ5 (OSU): λάχνη: τρίχωσις || PB, PW: τρίχωσις || Sch^T (ex.) 219e: λάχνη: πύκνωσις, παρὰ το λα και τον χ<ν>οῦν T || Hsch. λ455: λάχνη· δασεῖα θρίξ. χαίτη. κόμη. ὕλη ... *₁τρίχωσις (Il. 10.134) ASvgn. η αφροδ της θαλάσσης vgp || Orion 95, 28, Ep.Hom. λ5 (GO), Syn. Σ λ42 (ABC), Phot. λ127, Sud. λ168, EGud 363, 45, EM 558, 18: λάχνη: τρίχωσις ... || Eust. 316, 19-22: λάχνη δε η τρίχωσις. See also Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon*, II 22:²⁸ τὰ δὲ τῶν μερῶν ὀνόματα τρίχεσ, τρίχωσις ... λάχνη.

²⁸ Bethe (n. 18) vol. 1, 87.

15-16 (223) ἐκπάγλωc = ἐκπληκτικῶc καὶ cφοδρῶc

The left edge of the papyrus is damaged at this point. A short indentation is expected at line 16, as this contains a gloss continuing from the previous line; on the basis of the restorations at lines i.8 and 10, it is possible to calculate a loss of about five letters at the beginning of line 16. The first visible letter is partly lost in the lacuna: this appears as a curved stroke, presumably the right-hand side of a round letter; cφ]οδρῶc seems the only plausible restoration. On the basis of the readings at lines i.8, 9, and 11, the conjunction καὶ may be plausibly restored at the beginning of the line, assuming a loss of five and a half letters in the lacuna; if a different conjunction, such as ἥ, or simple juxtaposition of the two interpretations were used, it would be necessary to assume that the indentation at line 16 was greater than those at lines i.8 and 10.

ἐκπάγλωc is not glossed at this point in hl33 West. ἐκπληκτικῶc is transmitted in most sources; cφοδρῶc, restored in the papyrus, is unparalleled.

Scholia minora: *P.Schub.* 2.7 (*Il.* 1.268): εκπα]γλωc· εκπληκτικ[ωc ... ; *P.Stras. inv.* 33.vii.8-9 (*Il.* 1.268): ε]κπαγλωc· εκ[π]ληκτικωc, εξ[ο]χωc; *P.Amh.* 2.18.xv.200 (*Od.* 15.335): εκπαγλωc· υπεραγοντωc || D: ἐκπάγλωc: ἐκπληκτικῶc (Iⁱ), μεγάλωc. ZYQX; cf. on *Il.* 1.268: ἐκπάγλωc. ἐκπληκτικῶc. ὃ ἐcτι, κατὰ κράτοc αὐτοὺc ἐξαπώλεcαν ZYQI. Aⁱⁱ ἐξόχωc καὶ φοβερῶc || PB: ἐκπληκτικῶc || PW: ἐξόχωc || Ap. 312, 17 (1.268): ἐκπάγλωc β'· ιcχυρῶc. φοβερῶc || Lex.Hom. ε224: ἐκπάγλωc: ἐκπληκτικῶc OSU || Sch^T (ex.) 222-3: <τῷ δ' ἄρ' Ἀχαιοί/> ἐκπάγλωc <κοτέοντο>: ὕβριcτικῶc ... ; cf. Sch^T (ex.?) on *Il.* 2.357: ἐκπάγλωc: ὕβριcτικῶc || Hsch. ε1570: ἐκπάγλωc· ἐκπληκτικῶc. ἐξόχωc s μεγάλωc, ἁθυμαcτῶc s ἐξοχα;

17-18 (223) νεμέccηθεν = ἐνεμέccηcαν καὶ ἡγανάκτηcαν

On the basis of the restorations at lines i.8 and 10 it is possible to calculate about three letters missing at line 18; καὶ ἡγανακτηcαν can be reasonably restored (cf. line i.16).

The glosses in the papyrus differ from those attested elsewhere; the first one simply clarifies the lemma by offering the more familiar aorist active form. The verb ἀγανακτέω chosen for the second interpretation is unparalleled: the other testimonies unanimously use μέφομαι.

Scholia minora: hl33 West v]ε[μ]ecc[η]θεν; cf. *P.Oxy.* 44.3160.ii.41 (*Od.* 2.64): νεμεccηθηται· μεμψεωc αξιον ηγηcεται (l. -τε) || D: νεμέccηθεν: ἐμέμφοντο. ZYQX (U^mIⁱ μεμψάμενοι) || PB, PW: ἐμέμφοντο || Lex. Hom. v17: νεμέccηθεν δέ: ἐνέμψα<v>το δέ OSU || Hsch. v287: *νεμεcῶ-

μέμφομαι s || Syn. Σ ν42: νεμεccǎ: μέμφεται ABCD || EM 600, 34: νεμεcητός: ... «νεμέccηθέν τ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ» (*Il.* 2.223) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμέμφοτο, Ἰλιάδος β' || Eust 318, 17-18: οἱ δὲ ὅμως νεμεcῶσι τῷ cταcιαcτῇ, τουτέcτι δικαίως ἐπιμέμφονται.

19 (225) τέο δ' αὔτε = τούτου δὴ

The reading τέο δ αυ]τε in the lemma is restored with Aristarchos, 3 West, Ω; δὴ αυτ' (Bekker) or δηϣτ' (Fick) was in Zenodotos, on the basis of Sch^T (Did.) 225b.

The lemma is not entered at this point in hl33 West. τούτου in the papyrus has no parallel in the comparative sources, which unanimously explain τέο with τίνος.

Scholia minora: *P.Hamb.* 3.200.ii.22 (*Od.* 4.463): [[τῷ]]τεῶ· [[ο]]τιν[οc || D: τέο: τίνος. ZYQXI || *Ap.Soph.* 151, 6: τέο τίνος ... || PB: τίνος δὴ || PW: τίνος || *Lex.Hom.* τ76: τέο: τίνος O²SU² || Sch^T (Did.) 225b: τέο δ' αὔτε: οὔτωc Ἀρίcταρχοc. Ζηνόδοτοc δὲ διὰ τοῦ η || Hsch. τ488: τέο· τίνος || *Ep.Hom.* τ8: τέο: ἔcτι τίc τινός ... GO || Sud. τ317: τέο: ἀντὶ τοῦ τίνος || EGud 526, 3: τέο, τίνος χάριν; ἔcτι τίc τινός || EM 752, 10: τέο καὶ τεόν: τὸ μὲν τέο ἀντὶ τοῦ τίνος κεῖται ...

20-23 The tops of some letters are visible at 20, but these are too scant to allow identification of the lemma. An upright stroke at the end of the third line calculated in lacuna, on the edge of the break, could be compatible with either *iota* or the right-hand side of *nu*. The remains of the letter at the end of the fourth line, immediately after the break, seem compatible with the right-hand side of *alpha* linked to *iota*, or perhaps with *nu*.

Col. ii

1 (272) εοργε[

εοργε(v) is glossed in D on *Il.* 2.272; *Ap.Soph.* 70, 16; *Lex.Hom.* ε502; *Hsch. ε4043; *Ep.Hom.* ε66; EGud 493, 1.

2 (273) κορυ[ccων

κορούccων is glossed in D on *Il.* 2.273; Sch^T (ex.) 273b¹; Hsch. κ3721.

3-4 (275) επεcβολοc[---]λῶν[

Apparently, the papyrus has the lemma επεcβόλοc inflected in the nominative instead of the accusative επεcβόλον transmitted in manuscripts at this point: επεcβόλοc is also glossed in Apollonius Sophistes,

while the D scholia and the *Lexeis Homerikai* have ἐπεεβόλον.²⁹ The indentation at line 4 indicates that the line contains the continuation of the gloss at line 3; λωγ[surviving at line 4 is compatible with τοῖς ἔπει βάλλων in Apollonius Sophistes, Hesychius, Etymologicum Gudianum and Etymologicum Magnum, supposing that βάλλων was split between the lines. The lemma is preceded by a curved stroke, probably a cancellation mark: perhaps this may be due to the fact that the term had been glossed before λωβητήρα, while λωβητήρα precedes ἐπεεβόλον in the text transmitted.

D: ἐπεεβόλον: ἔπειν, ὃ ἐστι λόγοις, βάλλοντα (~I¹), λοιδορον ZYQX λοιδορῶν Z || PB: τὸν ἔπειν (ὃ ἐστι λόγοις) βάλλοντα || PW: ἔπειν βάλλοντα (ὃ ἐστι τὸν ὑβριτήν) || Ap.Soph. 71, 18: ἐπεεβόλος: τοῖς ἔπειν βάλλων, λοιδορος || Lex.Hom. ε562: ἐπεεβόλον: τὸν τοῖς ἔπειν, ὃ ἐστι τοῖς λόγοις, βάλλοντα καὶ ὑβρίζοντα OSU || Sch^{bT} (ex., Hrd.) 275b: <ἐπεεβόλον> ἔσχα' ἀγοράων: ὡς συνεχῶς αὐτοῦ παρρησιαζομένου. | ἐπεεβόλον δὲ ὡς ἐγχεσπάλον (cf. *Il.* 2.131) bT ἤτοι τὸν ἔπειν βάλλοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς b || Hsch. ε4450: ἐπεεβόλος· λοιδορος. πρό-γλωσσο. τοῖς ἔπειν βάλλων || Syn. Σ ε616, Phot. ε1437, Sud. ε2079: ἐπεεβόλος: λοιδορον, φλύαρον || Ep.Hom. ε70: ἐπεεβόλος: ἐκ τοῦ ἔπος καὶ τοῦ βάλλειν ... || EGud 499, 3: ἐπεεβόλος: ὁ φλύαρος (*d*¹) καὶ λοιδορος (*d*²) ... || EGud. 499, 21, EM 355, 4: ἐπεεβόλος: ὁ λοιδορος, ὁ τοῖς ἔπειν βάλλων || EGud. 499, 22: ἐπεεβόλος: ὁ φλύαρος καὶ λοιδορος, ὁ διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν λωβῶν, τουτέστιν ὑβρίζων, ἐπεεβόλος καὶ κατὰ ἐναλλαγήν ἐπεεβόλος.

5 (275) λωβητήρα

λωβητήρα is glossed in D on *Il.* 2.275; Lex.Hom. λ123; Sch^T (ex.) 275a; Hsch. λ1488; Syn. Σ λ173; Phot. λ499; Sud. λ723.

6 (275) εσχ ἀγοράων . [

Apostrophe to mark elision is not written. D gloss ἔσχεν and ἀγοράων separately on *Il.* 2.275. ἔσχε(v) is also glossed in P.Mich. inv. 2720 Fol. 5 v^o 22 (*Il.* 5.300), Ap.Soph. 78, 5, and Lex.Hom. ε848; ἀγοράων in Lex.

²⁹ Cf. K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (Bruxelles 1992) 65-72 for marginal notes in literary papyri in which lemmata or glosses are inflected differently from the original text. McNamee observes that lemmata inflected in the nominative or accusative may be plausibly explained by assuming that the note was taken from commentaries in which the word occurred as the grammatical subject or object of discursive explanations; McNamee suggests that similar variations observed in the scholia minora may be explained in the same way.

Hom. α58 and *Hsch. α719. Sch^{bT} (ex., Hrd.) 275b has <ἐπεεβόλον> ἔcχ' ἀγοράων (cf. note at ii.3-4 above).

7 (276) ου θην [

On account of the blank space following the reading, before the papyrus breaks off, the lemma should have been οὗ θήν only, glossed in Hsch. ο1613; οὗ θήν μιν is glossed in D on *Il.* 2.276; Lex.Hom. ο316; Ep.Hom. ο76; EGud 439, 46; EM 638, 16. Sch^T (ex., Ariston.) 276b¹ comments on οὗ θήν μιν πάλιν.

8 (276) παλ[ιν αυτις

αὐτις is restored in the lacuna on the basis of the entry in D on *Il.* 2.276; the expression is also glossed in Sch^A (Ariston.) 276a. πάλιν alone is glossed in Ap. 329, 13; Ap.Soph. 126, 26; Lex.Hom. π1; Hsch. π190; EGud 449, 46, 50; EM 648, 20.

9-10 (276) αγη[νωρ ---]θαδης[

The indentation given to 10 indicates that the line contains part of the gloss continuing from 9; the reading θαδης[at 10 can be confidently restored as part of αὐθάδης, found in most comparative testimonies, assuming that the word was split between the lines.

D: ἀγήνωρ: αὐθάδης, ὕβρις (=I'), καὶ θρασύς ZYQX. | ὅτε δὲ δηλοῖ 'καὶ Q' τὸν ἀνδρεῖον ZQ; cf. on I 398: ἀγήνωρ δὲ νῦν ὁ ἄγαν | ἀνδρεῖος (=T'), ὅτε δὲ ὁ αὐθάδης, καὶ ὑπερήφανος ZYQXI'G (lemma "ἀγήνωρ" pro δὲ QX) || Ap. 289, 19: Ἀγήνωρ γ' ὄνομα κύριον (*Il.* 4.467). καὶ τὸν ἀνδρεῖον (9.398). καὶ τὸν αὐθάδη (2.276). καὶ ὑπερήφανον (*Od.* 2.103) || Ap.Soph. 7, 16: ἀγήνωρ: ἦτοι ἄγαν ἀνδρεῖος, τῆς ἡνωρέας ἐγκειμένης, ἢ ὅταν αὐθάδης καὶ ὕβρις... || Lex.Hom. α35: ἀγήνωρ: αὐθάδης, ὕβρις OSU, | ἢ ἄγαν ἀνδρεῖος U || Sch.Gen. on *Il.* 9.699: ἀγήνωρ] ἄγαν αὐθάδης καὶ ὑπερόπτης, ὕβρις, ἢ ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἡνωρέην ἢ τὴν ἀνδρείαν || Hsch. α491: *ἀγήνωρ· ὑπερήφανος vgΣ αὐθάδης vgAb ἀνδρεῖος .. nΣ καὶ ὄνομα κύριον .. wΣ || Ep.Hom. α72: ἀγήνωρ: παρὰ τὸ ἄγαν καὶ τὸ ἀνὴρ γίνεται ἀγάνωρ... PO.

11 αμε[

A small angular stroke, partly vanished, is visible in the upper part of the line, immediately before *alpha*; if not accidental, it might be a small added letter: cf. those written above lines i.6 and 13 and ii.12. If this were correct, the shape of the stroke would be compatible with either *gamma* or *tau*. The alignment on the left, corresponding to the one given to the

lemmata in the column, would suggest a lemma rather than a gloss extending from the previous line. The text received and the variant readings transmitted at this point, however, do not offer any lemma compatible with the reading in the papyrus. It may be possible to hypothesise a mistake for ἄμα (281).³⁰ ἄμα is glossed in D on *Il.* 1.417, 1.495, 2.281, 13.729; Sch^A (Ep. Hom.) on *Il.* 1.251; Hsch. α3386; Phot. α1095; Ep.Hom. α74; EGud 102, 7; EM 75, 8.

[vac.?]χα . [

The writing at this point is smaller than elsewhere, and distance from the preceding and the following line is very short: this indicates an inter-linear addition. It could be either an addition or modification of line 12 below it, or the continuation of a gloss from line 11 above. A break in the fibres prevents us from ascertaining whether letters are missing before the sequence *chi-alpha*. There would be space for one or two letters. If it were a new lemma added between the lines, the sequence *chi-alpha* would be incompatible with any reading in the text transmitted.

12 (291) ανε[ι]ηθεντα (l. ἀνιηθέντα)

If the lemma is correctly restored, the papyrus has a banal itacistic mistake: cf. αν[[ε]]ιηθέντα in 3 West;]ανειηθεν[in 689 West = P.Mich. inv. 3694. The reading ἀνιηθέντα νέεσθαι is transmitted in Sch^{bT} (ex.) 291c-d, 854 West = Oxford, Sackler Library 97/135 (ined.), h134 West, tt, Z (= D scholia), Ω; ανιητη[in West 2 = P. Hawara (Bodl. Gr. class a.1 (P)). West prints †ἀνιηθέντα νέεσθαι† and suggests ἀνιη τ' ἐνθάδε ἦσθαι in the apparatus; ἀνιη τ' ἐνθ' ἀνέχεσθαι is the emendation proposed by Freytag, reported by West. Besides h134 West, ἀνιηθέντα is glossed in D on *Il.* 2.291; *Hsch. α5193; Sud. α2463.

13 (291) νεε[σ]θαι

A curved stroke at full height, nearly faded, precedes the lemma: it could be a deletion mark, as at line ii.3. νέεσθαι is glossed in h134 West; *P.Oxy.* 67.4631.21 on *Il.* 2.84; Ap.Soph. 115, 4; Lex.Hom. v23; *Hsch. v200; Orion 112, 1; Syn. Σ c31; Phot. v85; Sud. v133. D gloss οἶκον δὲ νέεσθαι on *Il.* 2.290.

³⁰ See F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. Vol. I: Phonology* (Milan 1976) 280-282.

14 (295) εἰν[ατος

εἶνατος is glossed in D on *Il.* 2.295; Lex.Hom. ε117; *Hsch. ε972; Ep.Hom. ε73; EGud 423, 7; EM 302, 1.

15-20 The horizontal fibres are lost at this point; it is possible to estimate a space of six lines missing before the papyrus breaks off. An upright survives at the beginning of line 16, then a diagonal connected with the base of a vertical is visible at line 17, plausibly *nu*. Part of a vertical line, gently curving at the foot, is extant on the baseline at line 18, perhaps the left foot of *pi* or *eta*. Line 19 has an oblique compatible with either the left-hand side of *alpha* of the triangular shape or *lambda*; *epsilon* is recognisable at the beginning of line 20, followed by an upright stroke, possibly *iota*.

AN AMULET CONTAINING ACTS 9:1¹

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Abstract. — Edition of a previously unpublished New Testament papyrus in the J. Rendel Harris Collection at the University of Birmingham. The papyrus preserves a single verse from the book of Acts (9:1) and likely dates to the late third or fourth century. Given the physical characteristics of this papyrus it seems likely that it was manufactured as an amulet. However, the use of Acts 9:1, a verse about Saul “breathing out threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord,” is rather curious and deserves some elucidation.

Introduction

Over the past three years I have had the opportunity to work on the unpublished papyri in the J. Rendel Harris Collection at the University of Birmingham. While this collection has been thoroughly picked over,² there are still a number of interesting pieces among the unpublished fragments.³ During my work on the collection this past year, I came across a papyrus bearing the inventory number P.Harr. inv. 486 and was able to determine that it contained a single verse from the book of Acts (9:1); at present it is the only New Testament papyrus to be identified in the collection.⁴

¹ I would like to thank Susan Worrall, Director of Special Collections and University Archivist, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, for permission to edit, image, and publish this papyrus. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers of this article for their comments and suggestions that have greatly improved it.

² E.g. *P.Harr.* 1-2; see also N. Gonis, “Eight Fragmentary Harris Papyri,” *AnalPap* 10-11 (1998-1999) 65-78; N. Gonis, “A Declaration of Artificially Inundated Land,” *ZPE* 142 (2003) 171-175; L.H. Blumell, “P.Birmingham inv. 317: An Addendum to the Fourth-Century Bishops of Oxyrhynchus,” *JJP* 44 (2014) 75-83; L.H. Blumell, “Two Greek Letters from the Petrie and Harris Collections,” *AnalPap* 27 (2015) 19-27; L.H. Blumell and M.R. Trotter, “Three New Fragments from the J. Rendel Harris Collection (Birmingham),” *AnalPap* 28 (2016) 19-27. I have also been informed by Nikolaos Gonis that he is currently preparing a third volume (*P.Harr.* 3) that will contain about 70 texts and will be published as an *APF* Beiheft.

³ By my count there are about 2,750 unpublished papyri, most of which are quite fragmentary, in the collection.

⁴ Other biblical or early Christian texts published thus far include: *P.Harr.* 1.128 (Shepherd of Hermas, *Vis.* 5-7; fifth century CE); *P.Harr.* 1.161 (ecclesiastical circular;

While there is no specific catalogue record for P.Harr. inv. 486, it was almost certainly acquired at the same time as the other papyri in the collection.⁵ In 1922/1923 James Rendel Harris, then curator of manuscripts at the Rylands Library, traveled to St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai to study/procure some Syriac manuscripts. En route he purchased a large number of papyri that he subsequently brought back to England and presented to Woodbrooke College, Selly Oak, Birmingham, in 1925.⁶ It is recorded that texts were purchased through dealers in Cairo as well as "Behnesa" (Oxyrhynchus).⁷ On this point it is worth noting that a number of the texts in this collection for which a provenance can be established come from Oxyrhynchus or the Oxyrhynchite nome.⁸ Therefore, even though the present text is strictly speaking without provenance, it is possible that it may have originally come from Oxyrhynchus.

The papyrus contains four lines of Greek that are written against the fibers; there is no writing on the reverse side. The top, bottom, and left margins are preserved but the right margin is broken off in ll. 1-3. In l. 4 the text only occupies half of the line so it is unaffected by the break. The left margin of the text is uniform at roughly 1.5 cm from the left edge of the papyrus, the top margin is roughly 1.5 cm from the top edge and the bottom margin is roughly 1.7 cm. Average line height is about 1.0 cm and average letter width is almost 0.5 cm. Given the amount of text lost where the papyrus breaks off at the right margin and, assuming that the right margin was equal to the left margin of about 1.5 cm, it could be that roughly 4 cm are lost so that the papyrus may have originally been 12 or

sixth century CE); *P.Harr.* 2.166 (LXX Exod. 22-23; third century CE); *P.Harr.* 2.167 (unknown Christian literary text; fourth century CE).

⁵ For a cursory overview of the papyri in this collection see J.E. Powell, "I papiri greci Rendel Harris," in *Pap.Congr.* 4 (1936) 23-25; see also "Appunti e notizie," *Aegyptus* 16 (1936) 351.

⁶ A brief description of the acquisition is given in *P.Harr.* 1, pp. v-vi.

⁷ *P.Harr.* 1, p. v: "As regards provenance, no more can be said than that the papyri were acquired partly from dealers in Cairo and partly at Behnesa."

⁸ *P.Harr.* 1.64-65, 71, 74-76, 78, 80-82, 85-86, 95, 99, 103, 131, 136-138, 142, 144-145, 166; *P.Harr.* 2.191, 193-196, 198, 201, 207-208, 212-219, 224-225, 228, 230-239; Gonis (n. 2, "Eight Fragmentary Harris Papyri"), nos. 1-2, 5-6; Gonis (n. 2, "A Declaration of Artificially Inundated Land"); Blumell (n. 2, "P.Birmingham inv. 317"); Blumell and Trotter (n. 2, "Three New Fragments"), no. 3; *P.Harr.* 1, p. v: "The majority [of the papyri] are of Oxyrhynchite origin." My own work on the unpublished papyri in the collection has revealed that a number of them come from Oxyrhynchus or the Oxyrhynchite nome. As is well known, Oxyrhynchus has yielded a number of early Christian papyri. For a comprehensive treatment see L.H. Blumell and T.A. Wayment, *Christian Oxyrhynchus: Texts, Documents, and Sources* (Waco, TX 2015).

13 cm in width thus giving it a distinctly rectangular shape where it was about twice as wide as it was tall. This approximate measurement seems to confirm how it was folded. Given that there is a vertical fold at roughly 4.0 cm from the left edge it appears that it was folded into thirds; the right edge of the papyrus that is broken off is quite straight and suggests that it broke along a fold, thus the papyrus seems to have been folded in increments of about 4 cm (see Fig. 1 below).⁹ Lastly, with respect to the physical remains of the papyrus, there are a number of holes and breakages of various sizes; at the top there are a series of six small holes that could line up if the papyrus was folded over. Though it is tempting to suppose that they might have been deliberate, and so the papyrus was folded and strung, this cannot be determined.¹⁰

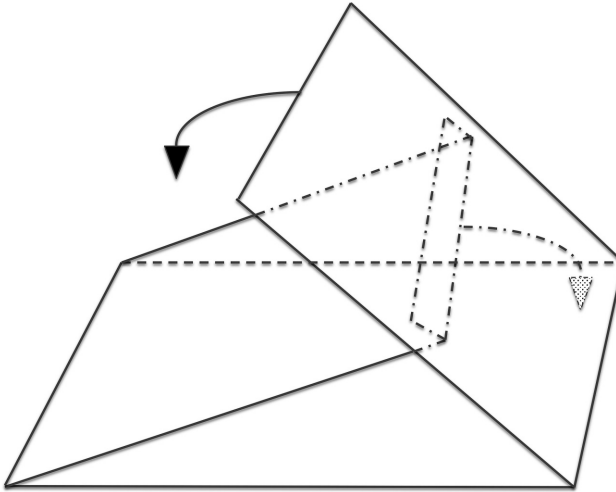


Fig. 1: How P.Harr. inv. 486 may have been folded

⁹ There is an additional fold line about 0.5 cm from the left edge of the papyrus where it seems to have been folded back when the left flap was folded over: see Fig. 1.

¹⁰ In the case of strung amulets the standard practice was to tie the folded packet itself with a string and not puncture the papyrus: e.g. *P.Oxy.* 8.1151 (= *PGM* P 5b; fifth century CE) or *BGU* 3.956 (= *PGM* P XVIIIb; fourth/fifth century CE). On the folding, tying, and wearing of amulets see J. Dieleman, "The Materiality of Textual Amulets in Ancient Egypt," in D. Boschung and J.N. Bremmer (eds.), *The Materiality of Magic* (Paderborn 2015) 23-58; see also J.G. Cook, "ⲡ⁵⁰ (P.Yale I 3) and the Question of Its Function," in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds.), *Early Christian Manuscripts: Examples of Applied Method and Approach* (Leiden 2010) 120.

The text is written with dark brown ink in a single hand and may be described as fluid and practiced. It has affinities with documentary hands as the writer tends to write letters with a single stroke and does not lift his hand often in the writing of individual letters. For the most part it appears that the writer strived for bilinearity, although the left leg of the λ (l. 1) and vertical descender of the τ (l. 3) dip noticeably below the line. The text is generally well spaced although some letters touch; for example, the crossbar on the ε (l. 1) and the crossbar of the θ (l. 3) are extended and touch the subsequent letter. Given the little amount of text to work with any paleographic assessment must proceed with caution. One graphic trend apparent in this papyrus is the slight rightward slant in the script. As this general trend really emerges in the third century, it offers the starting point for a *terminus post quem*.¹¹ Another trend that can be detected in the text is that certain letters have especially long legs, like the left oblique of the λ (l. 1) and perhaps the upper right hasta of the κ (l. 2, though not as elongated as the leg of the λ). This phenomenon begins to occur in texts of the middle and later part of the third century and continues into the fourth century and beyond, when it becomes even more elaborate.¹² As a result of these features, I do not think that this papyrus dates before the middle or later part of the third century. It may also be noted that because this hand does not display an overall tendency toward elaboration and decoration I would not date it to a period after the fifth century, when this trend becomes especially pronounced. The best paleographic parallels I have been able to locate are found in texts dated to the fourth century CE. For example, certain letters in *P.Abinn.* 60 (July 28, 346 CE) like the υ , the inclining σ , the single-stroke ν , the δ with an extension at the top (but without the flourish) or the ϕ with serifs provide close parallels to the letters in the present text.¹³ Of the texts regarded as amulets and bearing a New Testament passage(s) *P.Schøyen* 1.16 (fourth-fifth century CE) offers the closest parallel; the ε is at times similarly written, the crossbar of the θ extends on both sides, and the $\tau\alpha$ combination appearing in both texts is similar.¹⁴ Given these overall parallels, I would tentatively

¹¹ P.H. Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts: An Introduction to New Testament Paleography and Textual Criticism* (Nashville, TN 2005) 117. See also Turner, *GMAW*² 40 (no. 14) and 118 (no. 70).

¹² E.g. *P.Coll.Youtie* 2.66 (= *P.Oxy.* 47.3366; 258 CE) and *P.Oxy.* 50.3593 (238-244 CE).

¹³ An image of this text can be accessed online at <http://www.pappal.info/sample/show/6261>.

¹⁴ B.C. Jones, *New Testament Texts on Greek Amulets from Late Antiquity* (London 2016) 115 describes the hand of *P.Schøyen* 1.16 as “an early Byzantine type.” Other texts regarded as amulets and that share some paleographic features include *P.Oxy.* 34.2684

date the text to the fourth century, although I would not completely rule out a late third-century date.

The papyrus contains Acts 9:1; in the NA²⁸ this verse reads as follows:¹⁵ ὁ δὲ Σαῦλος ἔτι ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόνου εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ κυρίου, προσελθὼν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ (NRSV: “Meanwhile Saul, still breathing threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord, went to the high priest”). The text of the papyrus accords with the standard reading with the sole exception that it drops τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ at the end of the verse. This is a rather unusual omission since προσελθὼν (l. 3) anticipates an object. While there is no known variant of this passage that omits τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, it may be noted that some amulets have a tendency to cut off mid sentence.¹⁶ The other minor variant in this text, which is strictly orthographical, is ἀπιλῆς (l. 2) for ἀπειλῆς.

Text and Commentary

P.Harr. inv. 486

H × W = 6.5 cm × 8.6 cm

Provenance unknown
Late third/fourth century

↓ ὁ δὲ Σαῦλος ἔτι [ἐμπνέων]
ἀπιλῆς καὶ φό[ου εἰς τοὺς]
μαθητὰς τοῦ [κυρίου]υ, προσελ-
4 θῶν *vacat*

2 l. ἀπειλῆς

1 The initial ο is faint and is noticeably more effaced than the surrounding letters. The left diagonal leg of the λ descends below the line and the crossbar of the first and second ε extend and touch the following letters. After ἔτι there is about 1 cm of papyrus before the break but I cannot make out any letters.

(Jones no. 24; fourth-fifth century CE), cf. υ, δ, line initial α; *P.Köln* 4.171 (Jones no. 14; fifth century CE), cf. α; *P.Köln* 4.171 (Jones no. 17; fifth century CE), cf. π.

¹⁵ NA²⁸ = Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart 2012).

¹⁶ For example, *P.Oxy.* 76.5073 (third/fourth century CE) breaks off mid-sentence near the end of Mark 1:2 with κατασκευάσει but does not include τὴν ὁδὸν σου that immediately follows. In *P.Vindob.* G 29831 (*MPER* N.S. 17.10; sixth/seventh century CE) John 1:5-6 breaks off about half way through verse 6; it ends with ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ but does not include θεοῦ, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης that follows. Likewise, in *P.Ant.* 2.54 (third/fourth century CE) Matt. 6:10-12 cuts off mid-word in verse 12 with ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλῆμ<ατα>. Additionally, both *P.Berl.* inv. 11710 (sixth/seventh century CE) that has John 1:29, 49 and *P.Vindob.* G 2312 (*Stud.Pal.* 20.294; fifth/sixth century CE) that has John 2:1a-2 and Rom. 12:1-2, break off mid-sentence in the verses.

2 The α at the beginning of ἀπιλῆς is written with a distinctly larger script and differs in style from the other *alphas* in the text as it is written with two separate strokes (more like λ than α). The spelling ἀπιλῆς for ἀπειλῆς is not unusual and the itacistic shift $\epsilon\iota > \iota$ is a common one: see Gignac, *Gram.* 1.189-190. The same phonetic spelling for this word is also found in the following manuscripts at Acts 9:1:¹⁷ $\aleph^* \text{C}$ 181 1828* C ; other spellings for ἀπειλῆς in Acts 9:1 include: 1704 ἀπλης; 1735 ἀπηλεις; 1751 and 1838 ἀπειλεις.

The $\alpha\iota$ of καὶ is partially effaced but readable; ϕ is written with serifs at the top and bottom of the vertical; only the left vertical stroke and the beginning of the diagonal of the ν are visible before the papyrus breaks off.

3 While the papyrus is damaged at the start of the line, traces of the μ are still visible. The crossbar of the θ extends to the following letter. The υ at the end of the line is slightly effaced but is partially visible. Given the proposed layout of the text it seems most likely that κυρίου was contracted as a *nomen sacrum*, i.e. $\kappa(\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron)\upsilon$. Assuming the text follows the NA²⁸ there are six letters lost in l. 1 and 9 letters lost in l. 2; with the use of the *nomen sacrum* only 8 letters would be lost in l. 3, comparable to ll. 1 and 2, instead of 12 letters if one assumes that κυρίου was left uncontracted. In $\aleph^{74} \aleph \text{B A}$ κυρίου is contracted as a *nomen sacrum* in this passage; in \aleph^{45} it cannot be determined because the papyrus is damaged in this portion of the verse.

4 The damage at the beginning of the line has resulted in nearly the complete loss of the θ but its extended crossbar that touches the following ω is still extant. After the ν the remainder of the line is blank and the phrase τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ that always follows in the manuscripts and is anticipated by the participle προσελθὼν is not written on the papyrus. While there is no known variant that leaves out τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, it is rendered variously in some manuscripts. A few manuscripts add the *iota* adscript to the definite article (τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ: \aleph^{45} 1270 1891 424 441) and a few phonetically spell the dative masculine singular article τῷ as το (το ἀρχιερεῖ: 1729 1751).

¹⁷ For *sigla* of New Testament manuscripts I have used those given in NA²⁸ and R.J. Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus. The Acts of the Apostles* (Sheffield 1998).

The Apotropaic Use of P.Harr. inv. 486 and Acts 9:1

Given the content of Acts 9:1 and the fact that this passage is not otherwise attested in any known amulet employing a New Testament text, the classification of the papyrus as an amulet could be questioned.¹⁸ On the other hand, the fragment does not fit very well as a writing exercise, an *aide-mémoire*, or a personal prayer.¹⁹ Furthermore, it is unlikely that it is a liturgical piece, and if it was simply written for devotional purposes the use of Acts 9:1 is rather peculiar. Alternatively, the physical characteristics of the papyrus accord remarkably well with texts otherwise classified as amulets:²⁰ (1) the fragment is relatively small and contains a non-continuous block of text; (2) it contains a fold; (3) it is written against the fibers, a feature that is not uncommon in papyri identified as amulets;²¹ and (4) the exclusion of τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, which is a rather unusual omission that is without precedent, might lend added weight to the fact that this is an amulet given that amulets that contain biblical texts at times have a tendency to cut off mid-sentence or mid-verse.²²

¹⁸ For a recent list (with accompanying edition) of amulets that contain New Testament passages see Jones (n. 14) 60-180, who includes twenty-four amulets in total. To this I would add the recently published amulet by T.A. Wayment, "A Christian Amulet Containing Colossians 3:9-10," *VC* 69 (2015) 528-533.

¹⁹ The hand of the present text mitigates against it being identified as a writing exercise since it is clearly more practiced. Cf. T.S. de Bruyn, "Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, and Tablets Written with Biblical Texts in Greek and Used as Amulets: A Preliminary Checklist," in Kraus and Nicklas (n. 10) 157.

²⁰ For useful discussions regarding methodology and criteria for identification of amulets see M.J. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P.Oxy. 840 and Its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (Leiden, Boston 2005) 23-40; T.J. Kraus, "P.Oxy. V 840 – Amulet or Miniature Codex? Principal and Additional Remarks on Two Terms," in T.J. Kraus (ed.), *Ad fontes. Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity* (Leiden 2007) 47-67; T.S. de Bruyn and J.H.F. Dijkstra, "Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets," *BASP* 48 (2011) 167-173.

²¹ The implication here is that the present papyrus was perhaps a leftover scrap from another text where the "verso" provided the best side for writing. While it has occasionally been suggested that because amulets were intended to invoke supernatural powers they were prepared on previously unused material, and that the use of previously written text lessens the probability that the biblical material was written for an amulet (see H. Förster, "Heilige Namen in heiligen Texten," *Antike Welt* 33 [2002] 321-322), such reasoning should not be pushed too far. In J. van Haelst's list of amulets in *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris 1976), which numbers 120 "Christian" amulets, almost one quarter are written on the backs of documents with completely unrelated text. Furthermore, there are various texts identified as "amulets" that are written *transversa charta*: see de Bruyn and Dijkstra (n. 20) nos. 50, 83, 143, 185. To this list of amulets I would also add *P.Oxy.* 76.5073 (third/fourth century CE), Wayment (n. 18) 528-33, and L.H. Blumell, "A Christian Amulet Containing a Doxology with Sketches on the Back," in *PapCongr.* 27 (2016) 2.745-754.

²² See n. 16 above.

While the physical characteristics of the papyrus point toward it being an intentionally manufactured amulet, the use of Acts 9:1 is curious as the verse hardly seems to possess any apotropaic value.²³ With many texts identified as amulets, and that bear a New Testament passage, the apotropaic function of a specific passage, or passages, is often relatively straightforward. For example, of the twenty-five published Greek amulets that contain one or more New Testament passages, almost half (11 of 25) quote from the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9-13). The use of various portions of this prayer, like the phrase "deliver us from evil" (Matt. 6:13b: ῥῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ), readily lend themselves to an apotropaic context.²⁴ Likewise, the second most common New Testament passage cited in Greek amulets, Matthew 4:23 (cf. 9:35),²⁵ also lends itself to an apotropaic context with respect to malady and sickness.²⁶ Similarly, the apparent apotropaic context behind a number of other amulets bearing New

²³ On amulets as principally apotropaic/prophylactic devices see R. Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets," in C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds.), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (Oxford 1991) 107-108; de Bruyn (n. 19) 149 notes that for papyri with biblical text to be regarded as amulets the text quoted should have some apparent "protective or beneficial effect." In amulets bearing LXX passages the most common quotations come from Psalm 90. For a useful discussion of Psalm passages having apotropaic power see P. Collart, "Psaumes et amulettes," *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) 463-467; C. Préaux, "Une amulette chrétienne aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles," *Cd'É* 20 (1935) 365-367; T.J. Kraus, "Psalm 90 der Septuaginta in apotropäischer Verwendung – erste Anmerkungen und Datenmaterial," *PapCongr.* 24 (2007) 1.497-514.

²⁴ The Lord's Prayer, or part of the Lord's Prayer, is invoked in the following amulets: *PSI* 6.719 (sixth century CE); *P.Princ.* 2.107 (= *Suppl.Mag.* 1.29; fifth/sixth century CE); *P.Iand.* 1.6 (fifth/sixth century CE); *SB* 28.16910 (seventh century CE); *P.Col.* 11.293 (fifth century CE); *P.CtYBR* inv. 4600 (sixth-eighth century CE); *BGU* 3.954 (sixth century CE); *P.Schøyen* 1.16 (fourth/fifth century CE); *P.Ant.* 2.54 (third/fourth century CE); *P.Köln* 8.336 (sixth century CE); *P.Köln* 4.171 (fifth century CE).

²⁵ Matt 4:23: καὶ περιῆγεν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ (NRSV: "Jesus went throughout Galilee, teaching in their synagogues and proclaiming the good news of the kingdom and curing every disease and every sickness among the people"); Matt 9:35: καὶ περιῆγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πόλεις πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν (NRSV: "Then Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and proclaiming the good news of the kingdom, and curing every disease and every sickness").

²⁶ Matt. 4:23 is invoked in the following amulets: *P.Oxy.* 8.1077 (= *PGM* P 4; sixth/seventh century CE); *BKT* 6.7.1 (fifth/sixth century CE); *P.Turner* 49 (= *Suppl.Mag.* 1.31; fifth/sixth century CE). See also T.S. de Bruyn, "Appeals to Jesus as the One 'Who Heals Every Illness and Every Infirmary' (Matt 4:23, 9:35) in Amulets in Late Antiquity," in L. DiTommaso and L. Turcescu (eds.), *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Montréal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser* (Leiden 2008) 65-82.

Testament material is often discernable.²⁷ Therefore, the present text, which is currently the only instance of an amulet invoking a passage from Acts, is all the more curious.²⁸

To consider the potential apotropaic value of Acts 9:1 it is worthwhile to begin by surveying how this passage was used in patristic literature – though on the whole it did not garner much attention. In Tertullian’s brief and passing commentary on this passage he sees in it a fulfillment of a prophecy from LXX Genesis 49:27 that reads, “Benjamin is a ravenous wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at the evening he shall impart nourishment.”²⁹ This passage is then taken by Tertullian to refer to Saul, who, from the tribe of Benjamin (Phil. 3:5), at first ravaged the church, but later, after his conversion, nourished and educated it.³⁰ Both Ambrose and Asterius will subsequently take a similar approach to this passage.³¹ Origen, along with some later commentators like John Chrysostom, comments on Acts 9:1 while discussing the change of name from Saul to Paul.³² At other times, Origen references this passage to highlight how wicked and murderous men can be changed through the gospel of Christ.³³ On this point Cyril of Jerusalem similarly cites the passage to show the “power” (δύναμις) of Christ as it had the capacity to turn ardent persecutors into faithful disciples.³⁴

²⁷ On the apotropaic value of Gospel incipits (e.g. *P.Oxy.* 76.5073, Mark 1:1-2 [third/fourth century CE]; *P.Oxy.* 8.1151, John 1:1, 3 [= *PGM* P 5b; fifth century CE]; *P.Köln* 8.340, John 1:1-11 [fifth/sixth century CE]) see J.E. Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits on Amulets from Late Antique Egypt: Text, Typology, and Theory* (Tübingen 2014).

²⁸ For a time it was argued that P³⁵⁰ (= *P.Yale* 1.3), which contains Acts 8:26-32, 10:26-31, was an amulet: see van Haelst (n. 21) no. 482 where he notes that it is “probablement une amulette”; S.E. Porter, “Textual Criticism in the Light of Diverse Textual Evidence for the Greek New Testament: An Expanded Proposal,” in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World* (Leiden 2006) 319, where it is suggested that this fragment was both a miniature codex and an amulet. More recently, however, it has been proposed that this fragment likely functioned in a different context altogether and may have simply been a scriptural note: see Cook (n. 10) 118-125.

²⁹ LXX Gen. 49:27: Βενιαμιν λύκος ἄρπαξ τὸ πρωῒνον ἔδεται ἔτι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑσπέρας διαδώσει τροφήν.

³⁰ Tertullian, *Marc.* 5.1.2; see also *Scorp.* 13.1.

³¹ Ambrose, *Patr.* 12.57; Asterius, *Hom.* 8.20.1-3.

³² Origen, *Comm. in Rom.* Pref.; John Chrysostom, *Hom. 1-4 in Ac. 9:1*, where Chrysostom frequently cites this passage in a larger discussion of name change (Saul to Paul) and its religious significance.

³³ Origen, *Cels.* 9.1; *Or.* 6.5.

³⁴ Cyril, *catech.* 10.17: ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ διώκειν· καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐν Δαμασκῷ κήρυξ ὁ διώκτης. ποία δυνάμει; ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν οἰκείους ὑπὲρ οἰκείων καλοῦσι μάρτυρας· ἐγὼ δέ σοι μάρτυρα τὸν πρότερον ἐχθρὸν παρέστησα. ἔτι ἀμφιβάλλεις; (“He [Saul] went forth to persecute and after three days the persecutor is a preacher in Damascus. By

One way to broach the apotropaic function of Acts 9:1 could be in the context of persecution,³⁵ where it may have been employed to deflect dangers (i.e. “threats and murder”) stemming from persecution.³⁶ Though there are no explicit examples of amulets manufactured specifically against persecution, this suggestion has been raised on occasion in connection with certain artifacts thought to possess apotropaic power.³⁷ Of course, if such were the case, the question that remains is: why would someone fearing persecution – or some kind of danger stemming from persecution – not simply invoke a passage where divine protection is more readily manifest? Perhaps an answer to this vexing question might be found in certain amulets that sought to ward off *βασκανία* – the effects of the “evil eye.” While some amulets protected the bearer from the evil eye by offering some kind of incantation, where the evil eye is directly mentioned, others stared down or diverted the harmful gaze of the evil eye by depicting an

what power? Others call friends as witnesses for/on behalf of friends; but I have presented to you the former enemy as a witness, and do you still doubt?”).

³⁵ Both Eusebius and Basil invoke the verse to describe acts of persecution in their own time: Eusebius, *h.e.* 8.7.5; *v.C.* 2.1.2; Basil, *Ep.* 237.2.

³⁶ While this suggestion might sound farfetched, there are amulets from Egypt that are roughly contemporaneous that were designed to protect the bearer from demons, robbers, evildoers, and murderers, to name just a few. See R. Kotansky, “Greek Exorcistic Amulets,” in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden 1995) 243-277; *PGM* III 479-483, 483-488, 488-494. It is also reported that Christians periodically affixed the apocryphal *Letter of Christ to Abgar* to city gates to protect the urban residents from plunder and attacks: see E. von Dobschütz, “Charms and Amulets (Christian),” *ERE* 3 (1910) 425, where it is stated that Christians in Edessa did this to ward off Persian attacks. For a useful listing of the different types of amulets see H.D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago, IL, London 1986); W.M. Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994),” in *ANRW* 2.18.5 (1995) 3480-3482 and 3492-3493. For a cursory treatment of the range of amulets see M. Meyer and R. Smith (ed.), *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (Princeton 1999); A.D. Vakaloudi, “Δεισιδαιμονία and the Role of the Apotropaic Magic Amulets in the Early Byzantine Empire,” *Byzantion* 70 (2000) 182-210, gives a detailed survey of various amulets and their diverse apotropaic functions in the Byzantine period.

³⁷ For example, it has been argued that an ostrakon from the Faiyum that broadly dates to the third century CE and that contains an excerpt of LXX Judith 15:2-7 could have been produced in connection with the mid-third-century persecutions of Decius or Valerian. The editor raised the possibility of whether the excerpted text, which contains a brief account of the Israelite victory over the army of Holofernes after they had been badly oppressed and persecuted, was thought to possess some kind of apotropaic value because it assured miraculous deliverance from persecution: see J. Schwartz, “Un fragment grec du livre de Judith (sur ostrakon),” *RB* 53 (1946) 534-37. This apotropaic view of the ostrakon has more recently been endorsed by E.A. Judge, “The Magical Use of Scripture in the Papyri,” in E.W. Conrad and E.G. Newing (eds.), *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen’s Sixtieth Birthday* (Winona Lake, IN 1987) 346.

eye on the amulet.³⁸ Therefore, to ward off something malevolent, amulets sometimes depicted something very similar, or even the same, to neutralize the threat. This “homeopathic” tendency, where like counteracts like, is also evinced in certain Byzantine amulets that acted as prophylactics against animals such as lions, snakes, and scorpions and that were made from some part of the animal.³⁹ The apparent thinking was that if you wore some part of a lion, snake, or scorpion, you were therefore protected and immune from their harmful attacks. Along the same lines, the reason that this papyrus quotes Acts 9:1 may be because it was thought that like countered like and that a verse talking about “threats and murder” could protect the wearer from these very things.⁴⁰

Alternatively, there may be a more straightforward explanation for the apotropaic use of this verse. Could it be that this text is attempting to draw on Christ’s “power” (δύναμις) for the wearer by showing that it had the potential to not only subdue one who “breathed out threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord,” but also to turn such a person into a disciple? If such is the case, this passage might then be regarded

³⁸ For examples see C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor, MI 1950) 96-99. For the Christian use of the image of the eye to counteract the effects of the evil eye see W. Bowden and J. Mitchell, “The Triconch Palace Butrint: The Life and Death of a Late Roman *Domus*,” in L. Lavan et al. (eds.), *Housing in Late Antiquity: From Palaces to Shops* (Leiden 2007) 460. For Christians and the evil eye in general see M.W. Dickie, “The Fathers of the Church and the Evil Eye,” in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Magic* (Cambridge, MA 1995) 9-34. There are also various Christian letters preserved on papyrus from the fourth or fifth century where ἀβάσκαντος appears: *P.Mich.* 8.519 (fourth/fifth century CE); *P.Oxy.* 20.2276 (fourth/fifth century CE); *P.Wisc.* 2.76 (mid-fourth century CE); *SB* 12.10841 (fourth century CE). On the use and meaning of ἀβάσκαντος in the papyri see H.C. Youtie, “Critical Trifles VIII,” *ZPE* 36 (1979) 75-76; D. Bonneau, “L’apotropaïque ‘abaskantos’ en Égypte,” *RH* 199 (1982) 23-36.

³⁹ Vakaloudi (n. 36) 190.

⁴⁰ To give another similar example, when one surveys the onomastic evidence from Egypt during the Roman and Byzantine periods, one is struck by the number of persons bearing a copronym – i.e. a name that incorporates the Greek κόπρος or “dung.” Why anyone would name their child “dung head” was initially inexplicable, and so the explanation was that persons bearing these names were either slaves or orphans who had been abandoned and subsequently rescued from the dung heaps. More recently, however, it has been convincingly shown that the context behind these offensive names is neither servitude nor orphanhood but that such names actually had an apotropaic component and were given to ward off the harmful effects of the evil eye: see D. Hobson, “Naming Practices in Roman Egypt,” *BASP* 26 (1989) 163-65; also Pestman, *Prim.*² 256. In particular Hobson cites the anthropological practice of “derogatory protective naming” whereby an individual is given what appears to be an offensive name because it was thought to protect the bearer from malevolent forces; thus, two negatives equaled a positive. For a more recent discussion of “copronyms” see *P.Paramone*, pp. 230-237.

as a kind of *historiola* – a short narrative used for ritual power⁴¹ – and we might assume that the larger story of Saul’s conversion was also being invoked, where just a few verses later this same persecutor was being overpowered by Christ. Keeping with this interpretation, it is interesting to note how the rendering of Acts 9:1 abruptly ends with the verb προσελθών. As has been noted in recent scholarship on amulets bearing New Testament passages, it is not uncommon for some amulets to periodically cut off abruptly, even mid-sentence, in grammatically awkward positions in the text.⁴² Though earlier scholarship tended to attribute such examples to faulty copying, more recently it has been argued that this was not necessarily the case, and that the scriptural extract may be acting as a *pars pro toto* signaling that sufficient text had been marshaled for apotropaic efficacy to take effect and was sufficient for the larger narrative.⁴³ Seen in this light, the text of Acts 9:1 may have been invoked to highlight Christ’s “power” over any threats and dangers as evidenced by the larger narrative of Acts 9: Saul the fervent enemy of the church would soon become the even more zealous proponent, making the power behind the text all the more efficacious.

To conclude, it seems best to regard P.Harr. inv. 486 as an amulet, albeit a unique one. The physical characteristics of the piece accord with texts otherwise identified as amulets and though the use of Acts 9:1 is curious, it can certainly have an apotropaic function.⁴⁴ While it seems most likely that the verse should be regarded as a *historiola* and that the larger narrative of Acts 9 and Saul’s conversion is implied, where the power of Christ had the ability to turn an ardent persecutor into an even more devout convert, there might be other contextual possibilities.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, the

⁴¹ D. Frankfurter, “Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical *Historiola* in Ritual Spells,” in Meyer and Mirecki (n. 36) 451-470.

⁴² See n. 16 above.

⁴³ Jones (n. 14) 80, 182.

⁴⁴ I am disinclined to take this papyrus as an example of “aggressive magic” where it was meant to inflict harm in some way.

⁴⁵ It could be wondered whether it was merely the use of scripture that provided protection without necessarily addressing a single context or one perceived function. Based on a survey of patristic literature it seems that scriptural text alone was thought to possess innate apotropaic powers. John Chrysostom referred to the scriptures as “divine charms” (θεῖαι εἰσιν ἐπαφαὶ τὰ γράμματα) and argued that neither the devil nor an evil spirit would dare to approach a house where a Gospel is lying (εἰ γὰρ ἐν οἰκίᾳ, ἔνθα ἂν εὐαγγέλιον ᾗ κείμενον, οὐ τολμήσει προσελθεῖν ὁ διάβολος ...; *Hom. in Jo.* 32.3). Furthermore, he asserted that the hanging of the gospels near one’s bed could offer protection from harm (*Hom. in I Cor.* 43.7). However, elsewhere he chides Christian women who “now wear Gospels hung from their necks” (νῦν τῶν γυναικῶν εὐαγγέλια τῶν τραχήλων ἐξαρτῶσαι ἔχουσι; *Hom. in Mt.* 72.2; see also *stat.* 19.4). Augustine reports that certain Christians

content of this papyrus is secure; it provides a valuable addition to the currently known amulets bearing New Testament passages and is among the earliest extant attestations of this verse.



Fig. 2: P.Harr. inv. 486, courtesy Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham

believed that physical ailments like headaches could be cured by putting a copy of John's gospel next to their head (*Tract. Ev. Jo.* 7.12). Isidore of Pelusium, *Ep.* 2.150 notes that just as the “teachers of the Jews” (οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καθηγηταί) wore “phylacteries” (φυλακτήρια) Christian women now wore “small gospels” (εὐαγγέλια μικρά). In the *Acts of Andrew* 23 a Christian woman is protected through the wearing of a gospel. Nonetheless, it seems that the scriptural texts (i.e. εὐαγγέλια) that are described in the aforementioned patristic passages and that supplied protection contained appropriate apotropaic content (see also *P.Bingen* 16, an amulet containing LXX Ps. 43-44), whereas Acts 9:1, on the contrary, is quite threatening.

NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE AMNESTY DECREE OF OCTOBER 9, 186 BCE¹

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Abstract. — In this paper we present three fragments, at least one of which belongs to the copy of the amnesty decree of 186 BCE known as *P.Köln* 7.313. P.Monts.Roca inv. 908 fits the left hand side of col. 1 of the decree. For the other two fragments (P.Palau Rib. inv. 172 c-d) we tentatively suggest that they belong to the same document, mainly for paleographical reasons and because they belong to a collection where other fragments of the same document are found. Although this paper does not provide many new insights into the text of the decree, it confirms that the sources for the Cologne, Roca Puig, and Palau Ribes collections of papyri were the same.

Three fragments, one from the Roca Puig collection at the Abbey of Montserrat, and two more from the Palau Ribes collection, struck us as very similar in their handwriting to the copy of the royal decree issued by Ptolemy V Epiphanes on October 9, 186 BCE, known as *P.Köln* 7.313. This decree was issued following the defeat of a major revolt in southern Egypt (206-186 BCE),² which had remained independent from the

¹ We are very grateful to the Benedictine community at the Abbey of Montserrat, especially Father Pius Tragan, for allowing us to publish the Montserrat fragment here and providing a wonderful space for our research in their collection. We are also grateful to the Archive of the Jesuits in Barcelona, and the curator of the Palau Ribes collection, Alberto Nodar, for allowing us to publish the two other fragments. We want to acknowledge the comments and corrections of Willy Clarysse (Leuven), Charikleia Armoni (Cologne), Peter van Minnen (Cincinnati), and the two anonymous readers, which contributed much to improving our article. Charikleia Armoni has to be thanked too for providing us with excellent photographs of the Cologne fragments and granting permission to publish them here. Sergio Carro (Barcelona) has been so kind as to produce a photographic combination of these fragments and has taken the photos in the Roca Puig and Palau Ribes collections. This paper is part of the research project financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitivity (FFI2015-65511).

² For earlier bibliography, see *P.Köln* 7, p. 64, n. 3. The fullest account of the historical background of the Great Revolt is A.-E. Veïsse, *Les "révoltes égyptiennes": Recherches sur les troubles intérieurs en Égypte du règne de Ptolémée III à la conquête romaine* (Louvain 2004). On the revolt, see 11-26, on the decree, see 171-177, with bibliography. New editions of texts concerning the Great Revolt have come to light since the publication of Veïsse's work. See A. Farid, "Zwei Demotische Privatbriefe. University of

Ptolemaic kingdom after having established a theocratic monarchy with two successive Egyptian pharaohs, Hurgonaphor and Chaonnophris.³

The two fragments kept at Cologne were first edited by L. Koenen in 1957 as *P.Kroll*,⁴ later reedited as *SB* 6.9316 and *C.Ord.Ptol.* 34. In 1982, S. Daris published the two fragments kept at the Palau-Ribes collection (P.PalauRib. inv. 172 a-b).⁵ These fragments were found to match and were reedited by Maresch as *P.Köln* 7.313.

The three collections, Cologne, Roca Puig, and Palau Ribes, were created from the same sources in Cairo. The most remarkable piece, which clearly reveals these connections, is the Biblical codex Rahlfs 967, nowadays scattered in the collections of Chester Beatty (Dublin), Fundación Pastor (Madrid), Scheide (Princeton), Roca-Puig (now at Montserrat), and Köln Theol. (Cologne).⁶ According to Koenen,⁷ the fragments referred to

Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, Inv.-Nr. E-16336 und E-16743," *ZÄS* 132 (2005) 1-11; M. Eldamati, *Ein ptolemäisches Priesterdekret aus dem Jahr 186 v. Chr. Eine neue Version von Philensis II in Kairo*, (München 2005); M. Depauw, "Egyptianizing the Chancellery During the Great Theban Revolt (205-186 BC): A New Study of Limestone Tablet Cairo 38258," *SAK* 34 (2006) 97-105; A.-E. Veïsse, "Retour sur les révoltes égyptiennes," in G. Charpentier and V. Puech (eds.), *Villes et campagnes aux rives de la Méditerranée ancienne. Hommages à Georges Tate* (Lyon 2013) 507-514; C. Armoni, *Das Archiv der Taricheuten Amenneus und Onnophris aus Tanis (P.Tarich)* (Paderborn 2013) 23-27. The bibliography on the causes that might have led to the Egyptian revolts is immense. Besides Veïsse's study, see also J.G. Manning, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Structure of Land Tenure* (Cambridge 2003) 164-170; B.C. McGing, "Revolt in Ptolemaic Egypt: Nationalism Revisited," in P. Schubert (ed.), *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie, Genève, 16-21 août 2010* (Genève 2012) 509-516; Ch. Fischer-Bovet, "Social Unrest and Ethnic Coexistence in Ptolemaic Egypt and the Seleucid Empire," *Past and Present* 229 (2015) 3-45; P. Johstono, "Insurgency in Ptolemaic Egypt," in T. Howe and L.L. Brice (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Insurgency and Terrorism in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Leiden 2016) 183-220; F. Ludlow and J.G. Manning, "Revolts under the Ptolemies: A Paleoclimatological Perspective," in J.J. Collins and J. G. Manning (eds.), *Revolt and Resistance in the Ancient Classical World and the Near East: In the Crucible of the Empire* (Leiden 2016) 154-175. In the same volume, B.C. McGing, "Revolting Subjects: Empires and Insurrection, Ancient and Modern," 139-153. For a survey of texts concerning amnesties in Ptolemaic Egypt see C.A. La'da, "Amnesty in Hellenistic Egypt: A Survey of the Sources," in K. Harter-Uibopuu and F. Mitthof (eds.), *Vergeben und Vergessen? Amnestie in der Antike* (Wien 2013) 163-209.

³ It has been suggested recently that Haronnophris and Chaonnophris were one and the same person. When the name was changed, the regnal years were numbered continuously. See A.-E. Veïsse, "Retour sur les révoltes égyptiennes," (n. 2) 513-514.

⁴ L. Koenen, *Eine Ptolemäische Königsurkunde (P.Kroll)* (Wiesbaden 1957).

⁵ S. Daris, "P.Palau Rib. 172 e 70." *Studia Papyrologica* 21 (1982) 73-82 = *SB* 16.12540, *SB* 16.12541. According to Daris (75), P.Palau Rib. inv. 172 b (fr. C of the decree) had a fragment of a second column attached to the lower right corner, giving an idea of the intercolumnial space. This fragment is today detached from the main fragment.

⁶ See *P.Monts.Roca* 4.46 with commentary.

⁷ Koenen (n. 4) 1.

as *P.Kroll* were acquired in 1957 by Harald Bocke on behalf of Prof. Joseph Kroll. Roca Puig and O'Callaghan might have acquired their fragments around that time, when they were both forming their collections.⁸ As far as we know, Roca Puig visited Cairo at several occasions during the 1950s. In 1955 he bought the Codex Miscellaneus.⁹ The rest of his purchases cannot be exactly traced, since we only have personal notes with sums of money paid for the papyri, but no detailed account of the transactions. We know with certainty that Roca Puig was in Cairo in 1957, but there is no way of knowing if he indeed bought this fragment in precisely that year.¹⁰ In any case, he bought it from the same dealer who sold the Cologne fragments.

1. *P.Monts.Roca inv. 908*

P.Monts.Roca inv. 908 would just be a small papyrus fragment of little interest if it did not match the left hand side of the first column of *P.Köln* 7.313, Fr. A (TM 2229), itself consisting of two fragments from Cologne (*P.Kroll* col. 1 = *P.Köln* inv. 184), and the Palau Ribes collection (*P.Palau Rib. inv. 172 a*). *P.Monts.Roca inv. 908* joins the Cologne fragment so perfectly that in certain areas one of them preserves the horizontal fibers, while the other preserves the vertical fibers. We offer both a

⁸ On the origin and acquisition of the Roca-Puig collection see S. Torallas Tovar and K.A. Worp, *To the Origins of Greek Stenography. P.Monts.Roca I* (Barcelona 2006) 15-16; J. Gil and S. Torallas Tovar, *Hadrianus. P.Monts.Roca III* (Barcelona 2010) 24-31. On the acquisition see M.T. Ortega Monasterio, "El Instituto Papiroológico Roca-Puig y el CSIC: ¿Proyecto o realidad?" in *Palabras bien dichas. Estudios filológicos dedicados al P. Pius-Ramon Tragan* (Montserrat 2011) 57-76. On the Palau-Ribes collection see J. O'Callaghan, "Las colecciones españolas de papiros," *Studia Papyrologica* 15 (1976) 80-93; J. O'Callaghan, "El fondo papiroológico Palau-Ribes (Sant Cugat del Vallès – Barcelona)," *Aula Orientalis* 2 (1984) 285-288; S. Torallas Tovar, "Papirología en España hoy," in M.A. Almela Lumbreras, J.F. González Castro, J. Siles Ruiz, J. de la Villa Polo, G. Hinojo Andrés, and P. Cañizares Ferriz (eds.), *Perfiles de Grecia y Roma: Actas del XII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos, Valencia, 22 al 26 de octubre de 2007* (Madrid 2009) 1.155-165 (161-162); M.J. Albarán Martínez, "The Coptic Ostraca of the Palau-Ribes Collection: New Perspectives and Edition," in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, and F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th-22nd, 2012, and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15th-19th, 2008* (Leuven 2016) 1301-1315 (1303-1305); A. de Frutos García, "A Note on the O.Gerundense, Its Whereabouts, and the Formation of the Palau-Ribes Collection," *ZPE* 199 (2016) 128-130.

⁹ See the letter and the receipt issued by father Chaleur in Gil-Torallas Tovar (n. 8) 24-31, plates IX-XI.

¹⁰ This is highly unlikely, since the set of papyri bought by Roca Puig in Cairo in 1957 were lost before reaching Spain. See Ortega Monasterio (n. 8) 70-71.

diplomatic and an interpretative transcription integrating the other fragments with the text preserved in the Montserrat fragment preceding l. This papyrus confirms and corrects some of the conjectures in the lacunae on the left hand side of the text. In the interpretative transcription we will respect the line numbers of the edition in *P.Köln* 7.313 and in the commentary we will discuss the reconstructions proposed by previous editors.

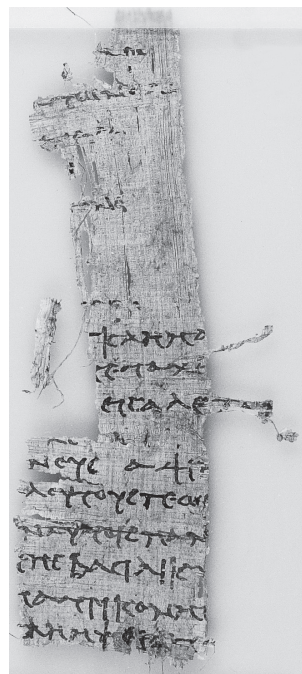
P.Monts.Roca inv. 908

H × W = 13.2 × 3.8 cm

After 186 BCE
Oxyrhynchos?

→

1]αρα [
2]ατωντω [
3]ενεχε [
4] [
5] ονο [
6] [
7] [
8] traces [
9]γκλημα[
10]τεταχε[
11]εικαλεξαν[
12]ξε traces [
13]νους αφη[
14]λουτουςγωρ[
15]ναυτοιπαν[
16]τηςβασιλικη[
17]πατρικονμ[
18]γλημψεωστ[



P.Monts.Roca inv. 908 + *P.Kroll* col. 1 + P.Palau Rib.inv. 172a (= *P.Köln* 7.313)¹¹

[]αραλξιτοι . [. .] . [. . . .] . [. . .] . [.] . . . τη[]
[καὶ ἐπιστ]ατών των φυ(λακιτών) καὶ των ἀρχιφυ(λακιτών) κ[αὶ
 των ἄ]λλων διὰ τὸ
[. .] ἐνέχεσθαι λείαις ἢ ἄλλαις αἰτίαις κ[αταπο]ρεύεσθαι εἰς
[τὰς ἰδία]ς ἀπολελυμένους των ἐγκλ[ημάτων πλ]ήν των

¹¹ We integrate here the readings from the three fragments. We present only the lines that have been affected by the match. For the full text we refer to the previous editions.

- 5 [. . . φ]όγους ἐκούσιους καὶ τῶν ἐκ τ[ῶν ναῶν καὶ τ]ῶν ἄλλω[ν]
 [ἱερῶν καὶ ἱ]ερῶν ἀποδοχίων σεσυληκό[των. . . ἀπο]λύει δὲ καὶ
 [ca. 9]των τεταγμένους καὶ τοὺς ε[τρατευομένου]ς καὶ τοὺς
 [ἄλλους ἐν] Ἀλεξάνδρειαι κατοικοῦντα[ς καὶ τοὺς ἐ]ν τῇ χώραι
 [τῶν ἐ]γκλημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀγν[οημάτων τῶν ἔ]ως Μεσορῇ
 10 [τοῦ 19 (ἔτους). προσ]τέταχεν δὲ [ἀ]πολῦσαι καὶ τ[ῆς ἐπι]γραφῆς
 καὶ τῆς
 [] εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοὺς . [. .] αὐτῶν τοὺς τε
 [. .]αξίως γενομένους καὶ τοὺς τοῖς χ . [. . .] . ἰσιν ἅτοι/ ἀφεσίμωι
 ἐπι-
 [γεγραμμέ]νους. ἀφίησιν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κ[αὶ] τοὺς μισθωτὰς
 [. .]λου τοὺς γεωργοῦντας τὴν βασιλικ[ῇ]ν γῆν τῶν ὀφι-
 15 [λημάτων ἐ]ν αὐτοῖς πάντων πρὸς τὴν ciτική[ν μί]σθωσιν καὶ τὸ χω-
 [ματικὸν] τῆς βασιλικῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ 19 (ἔτους) χωρί[ς] τῶν μισθωτῶν
 [τῶν εἰς τὸ] πατρικὸν μεμιχθῶμένων. ἀφίησιν δὲ καὶ τὰ ὀφιλόμενα
 [ἀπὸ τῆς ἐ]γλήμψεως τῶν π[ρο]σόδων ἕως τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου χωρὶς
 τ[ῶν]

“[King Ptolemy proclaims an amnesty to all his subjects ... by the] *epistatai* (superintendents) of the policemen or the chief policemen or the other officials, because they have been found guilty of theft or have been subject to other accusations, they shall return to their own homes free from their charges, except those guilty of willful murder or those who have plundered in temples, in other sanctuaries, or in the storehouses of temples.

[... The King] also releases ... those appointed to official positions and soldiers and the inhabitants of Alexandria and the countryside from their charges and faults for the period up to the month of Mesore [of the 19th year].

He has ordered to release those ... from the harvest tax and the ... to Alexandria and those who have been subjected to (*praxis*?) as well as those assessed(?) in the category of those subject(?) to exemption.¹²

He also releases all the others and the lessees, as well as royal farmers from their debts in respect to the farming of the grain-tax and the dyke-tax assessed on royal land for the period up to the year 16th except for hereditary lessees.

¹² For the reconstruction of this line and the unclear meaning of ἀφέσιμος, see Maresch and Merkelbach in *P.Köln* 7.313, commentary to ll. 10-13, pp. 70-71. See below, commentary to l. 12.

He also remits debts from the farming of money taxes up to the present moment, apart from...”¹³

1 Since the horizontal fibers are missing this line is almost illegible. Only the reading of a ρ is clear. Combining the traces with those in *P.Köln*, we are able to reconstruct ἀραξιοι, with a doubtful first α. We wonder whether this would correspond to a form of ἄξιος or the verb ἀξιόω or some form of the verb ταραύω. Accordingly, some of the proposed reconstructions should be rejected: ἀταξίαι, κ]ατάξιοι, and ταξιάρ[χ by Maresch (69) are not viable. H. Braunert (review of *P.Kroll, Gnomon* 32 [1960] 531-533, esp. 531, n. 2) suggests αξιοι; we read a word ending in ρ right before it. Cf. the formula καθάπερ ἀξιοι, *C.Ord.Ptol.* 62.7 and *BGU* 10.1910, Fr. B.

2 The reading of ατων is clear. Some traces follow, which match the traces of τῶν also preserved in the Cologne text. The Montserrat fragment completes a few letters of the word ἐπιτ]ατῶν proposed by Merkelbach; see Maresch (69).

3 From this line through line 9, the Montserrat fragment only presents the vertical fibers, while the Cologne fragment has the horizontal fibers with the text written on them, which should be superposed. The upper part of the letters ενεχε is still visible in the Montserrat fragment, while the lower part is in the Cologne fragment.

4 Only a tiny trace of a character from the text of this line survives in the Montserrat fragment. It remains completely illegible.

5 The Montserrat fragment preserves traces of letters which can be read as φονο. Hence it confirms part of the proposed φόνους.

8 The Montserrat fragment preserves some tiny traces of characters which might correspond with the top part of the first letters of Ἀλεξάνδρεια.

9 This line presents the reading]γκλημα which we interpret as ἐ]γκλημάτων. Therefore the edited line (*P.Kroll*) [τῶν ἁμαρτημ]άτων καὶ τῶν ἀγν[οημάτων τῶν ἔ]ως Μεσορῇ, based on *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53.2, needs to be corrected to [τῶν ἐ]γκλημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀγν[οημάτων τῶν ἔ]ως Μεσορῇ, as it clearly appears in the Montserrat fragment. As already

¹³ Maresch provides a translation into German in *P.Köln* 7.313 (pp. 76-78). A. Jördens provides another one in F. Breyer and M. Lichtenstein (eds.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* 2 (Heidelberg 2005) 374.



suggested by Passoni dell'Acqua,¹⁴ the fullest enunciation of the formula in an amnesty decree is found in *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53bis.2-6 and *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53ter.2-5: (...) ἀφιαῖα τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν πάντας ἀγνοημάτων ἁμαρτημάτων ἐγκλημάτων καταγνωσμάτων αἰτιῶν πασῶν (...) πλὴν τῶν φόνοις ἐκουσίοις καὶ ἱεροσυλίαις συνεχομένων: “(They) proclaim an amnesty to all their subjects for errors, crimes, accusations,

¹⁴ A. Passoni dell'Acqua, “La terminologia dei reati nei prostagma dei Tolomei e nella versione dei LXX,” in B. Mandilaras (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology, Athens 25-31 May 1986* (Athens 1988) 2.335-350.

condemnations, and charges of all kinds (...) except to persons guilty of willful murder or sacrilege.”¹⁵ In copies of other amnesty decrees, this formula may appear in a different order or in an abbreviated form, as in, e.g., *C.Ord.Ptol.* 54 (= *P.Tebt.* 1.124) col. 2.23-24, from a group of decrees issued by Euergetes II (118 BC) concerning cleruchs. One of these concerns an amnesty for some offenses: ἀπολύ(εσθαι) (...) ἐγκ[λημ]ά(των) ἀγνοημά(των) ἀγνοημά(των) (l. ἁμαρτη(μάτων)) καταγνω(σμάτων) αἰτιῶν πασῶν ἕως τοῦ νῦν (ἔτους). The reading of the Montserrat fragment does not speak against such an assumption: lines 6-9 of the copy discussed here may thus feature an abridged version of the formulary of the *Generalamnestie*.

10 The Montserrat fragment confirms the reading *προς*]τέταχεν, at least in its last part.

11 In this line, the fragment adds the preposition: εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, confirming Maresch’ suggested reading τῆς | [εἰςφορᾶς] εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, based on *C.Ord.Ptol.* 54.13.

12 This line preserves the bottom part of the letters ξε. There are two further traces that cannot be aligned with the traces in the Cologne papyrus. Unfortunately this fragment does not confirm or solve any of the suggested supplements by Koenen or Maresch. Further to the right in the line, the reading of a χ in the Palau Ribes fragment makes the reconstruction [τε Ἑλλ]ησιν unlikely. We wonder if something like τοῖς χ[ρηθε]ῖσιν can be read.

13 As in the rest of the document, in the Palau Ribes and the Cologne fragments, this fragment features punctuation spacing between]νουσ and ἀφίησιν, marking the beginning of a new period. The reading]νουσ confirms partly the reconstruction ἐπι[γεγραμμένους] suggested by Maresch (71).

14 The reconstructed καί does not appear in the preserved text in the Montserrat fragment, but a word ending in -λου precedes τοὺς γεωργοῦντας. We wonder whether this should be understood as [καὶ τοὺς ἄλ]λου< >. Otherwise ἄλλοι in the genitive is difficult to explain here.

15 This line had been reconstructed by Maresch as ὀφί[λημάτων] [τῶν ὄ]ντων πρὸς τὴν σιτικὴν [ν μί]σθωσιν, based on *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53.10-13,

¹⁵ Translation of *P.Tebt.* 1.5 (= *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53) by R.S. Bagnall and P. Derow, *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation* (Oxford 2004) 95-100.

but we read [ἐ]ν αὐτοῖς πάντων. However, this new reading hardly changes the meaning. For the construction, cf. *P.Gurob.* 20.3; *P.Tebt.* 3.1.746.9-10; *P.Tebt.* 1.5.66-67; *P.Zen.Pestman* Suppl. E = *SB* 3.7222.46; *SB* 22.15766.13.

16 The edition supplies καὶ τὸ χωλ[ματικὸν τῆς αὐτ]ῆς γῆς, but the Montserrat fragment has τῆς βασιλικῆς γῆς. This confirms the interpretation by Maresch that this refers to royal land, although he prefers to supplement [τῆς αὐτ]ῆς γῆς. On the dyke-tax, see Kaltsas, *P.Paramone* 8.16n. (with bibliography). This is virtually the only example for the dyke-tax assessed on royal land.

17 The Montserrat fragment confirms the reconstructed πατρικόν.

18 The surface of the last part of this line in the Montserrat fragment is very damaged and we cautiously read γλήμψεως. We reconstruct [ἀπὸ τῆς ἐ]γλήμψεως τῶν ...

Two Fragments from the Palau Ribes Collection

Two further fragments apparently of the same decree belong to the Palau Ribes collection. They bear the same inventory number (172) as the Palau Ribes fragments edited by Daris, although admittedly we do not know whether he was aware of their existence. A palaeographical comparison with the known fragments of the decree reveals that the fragments are clearly written in the same hand. Moreover, our reading of some key legal terms may be taken as an argument in favor of the adscription of these new fragments to the decree. Both fragments were covered with plaster, since they come from cartonnage, and the reading in most of the surface is difficult. We cannot place them in relation to other fragments, and thus the reconstruction of the text is hypothetical.

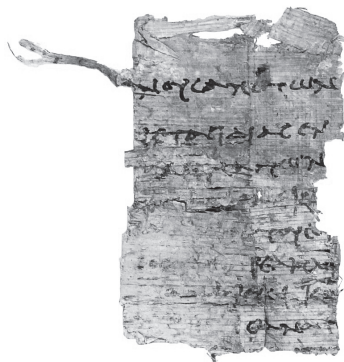
2. P.PalauRib. inv. 172 c

H × W = 4.7 × 7.6 cm; top margin 1.5 cm; right hand margin 0.2 cm

This fragment might belong to the top right hand corner of column 1. The end of line 2 seems to be the right hand margin, since it features a blank space after the text, but we are not entirely sure whether this fragment presents the margin. Although the text is not substantial, we interpret it as referring to the amnesty for fugitives, comparing the text to that of *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53.6-9. The beginning of column 1 is supposed to deal with

fugitives and the crimes committed by them. Maresch (68) suggests the following text for the lacuna: Βασιλεὺς προτέταχεν τοὺς ἀνακεχωρηκότας ... which, if we are right, would be found to the left of our fragment.

- 1] . νους ἀπὸ τῶν
- 2] εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ἐν
- 3 ἐ]γκλημάτων
- 4] εκ . [.]
- 5] . α τους[.]
- 6] . ος . . παρεληλυ[.]
- 7 ἐν Ἀλ]εξανδρείαι κα[.]
- 8] ραι θανάτῳ[ι]
- 9] traces _____



2 εἰς τὰς ἰδίας: If the text concerns fugitives, this may be compared to *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53.6-9: προτετά[χα]ι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνακεχωρηκότας δ[ιὰ τὸ ἐνέχεσθαι] | [λ]ήαις καὶ ἐτέραις αἰτίαις καταπορευομένους εἰς [τὰς ἰδίας].

3 See above, 1.9n.

5 The last four letters τους may stand for ἔτους, τους, or even ους[ι]. The context does not help in taking a decision.

6 The last traces can be read as παρεληλυ[, making this a form of παρέρχομαι. If it refers to time passing (cf. *PSI* 6.551r.4, *P.Enteux.* 46.3-4), it is not clear, since there is no context.

7 Perhaps ἐν Ἀλ]εξανδρείαι κα[ι ἐπὶ χώραι (cf. *C.Ord.Ptol.* 47.15) or ἐν Ἀλ]εξανδρείαι κα[ι κατ'Αἴγυπτον (cf. *C.Ord.Ptol.* 28.2-3).

8 We read θανάτῳ[ι which may refer to the death penalty.¹⁶ On the basis of similar texts we suggest reading θανάτῳ[ι ζῆμιούσθαι] or θανάτῳ[ι ἔνοχον εἶναι]. Apparently, in the Ptolemaic royal decrees dated to the 3rd-2nd cent. BCE, only royal functionaries were subject to the death penalty.¹⁷

¹⁶ On the death penalty, see A.-E. Veïsse, “Surveiller ou punir? Le contrôle des fonctionnaires dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque,” in L. Feller (ed.), *Contrôler les Agents du Pouvoir* (Limoges 2004) 104-111; F. Bluche, “La peine de mort dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque,” *RIDA* 3^e série 22 (1975) 143-175.

¹⁷ See Veïsse (n. 16) 109-110. For other references to the death penalty in royal decrees, see *C.Ord.Ptol* 73.6-7 (49/48 BCE).

• *C.Ord.Ptol.* 13.19 (= *P.Hib.* 2.198v.7.150, 269-268 BCE) too fragmentary¹⁸: θανάτῳ ζημιώσ[

• *C.Ord.Ptol.* 41.14 (145/144 BCE, Cyprus), decree by Euergetes apparently addressed to the royal functionaries who were abusively bringing people to justice: εἰ δὲ μή, θανάτῳ ζημιούσθαι

• *C.Ord.Ptol.* 50.28 (124 BCE): decree by Euergetes II ordering the sale through auction of the properties belonging to associations. Although the copy is too mutilated, the functionaries who disobeyed this order might have been subject to the death penalty: τὸν δὲ μὴ οὕτω ποιήσαντα θανάτῳ ἔνοχον εἶναι.

• *BGU* 6.1250.13-14 (2nd cent. BCE) referring to a decree, which established the death penalty for those functionaries who helped taxpayers to change their status in order to evade taxes: εἰ δὲ [μή, τὸν ποιήσαντα θανάτῳ ζημιούσθαι

• *P.Gen.* 3.136Av.1.7 (too fragmentary): θανάτῳ ζημιωθήσεται

• *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53.85-92 (118 BCE): decree by Euergetes II establishing the death penalty for royal functionaries who used false bronze measures in estimating the dues to the Crown: τοὺς δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιούντας θανάτῳ ζημιούσθαι

For this formula in the first century BCE royal decrees see *C.Ord.Ptol.* 73.9 (79 BCE). See also *CPR* 28.14 Frs. 4,5,6,12.3-4 (125-50 BCE).

9 At the end of the line a horizontal mark looks like a *paragraphos*, used to separate sections of the text. These kinds of lectional marks however usually appear to the left of the text and in *ekthesis* into the left hand margin. Cf. *P.Tebt.* 1.5 (= *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53).

3. *P.PalauRib. inv. 172 d*

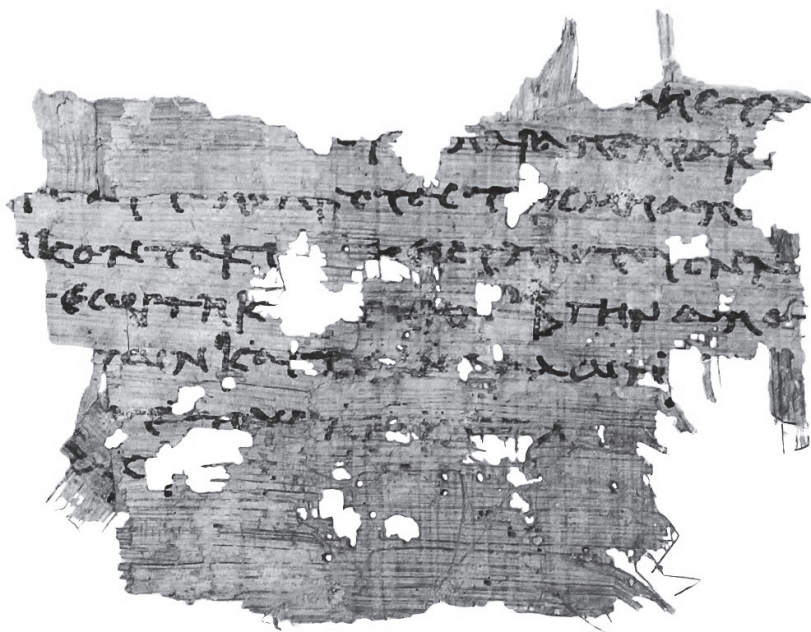
H × W = 10.5 × 8.2 cm; bottom margin 1.3 cm

This fragment preserves the bottom margin, and is thus the end of a column, but it is not clear in which order these columns were. The surface was partially covered by plaster, which has been removed as far as the material and the ink could bear.

¹⁸ See, however, the discussion in M.-Th. Lenger, *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées* (*C.Ord.Ptol.*), (Bruxelles 1964) 25.

→ -----
 1] . ηςτη[
 2] . ρ [. .] παραπεπρακό[τ
 3] πεποηκότας τοὺς μὴ ἀπο[
 4] ηκοντα κτ[] η εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἐννο[μίου
 5 τοὺς γε] γεωργηκ[ότα]ς τὴν βα(σιλικήν) γῆν ἀπο . [
 6] των καὶ τῶν ἄλλων [
 7 το]υ ἔτους πρακ . . . [
 8 illegible traces

5 β^a pap.



2 Παραπράσσω means “to exact money/taxes illegally”; cf. in Ptolemaic times *SB* 16.12519.7-8 and *P.Giss.Bibl.* 1.2.24; later *P.Brem.* 2.6 and *SB* 16.12678.16. Our decree probably concerns illegal tax exaction. Cf. *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53.155-167. See above 2.8n. But this may also be interpreted as a form of παραπιπράσκω “to sell at a reduced price” or “to sell illegally.”¹⁹ The insufficient context does not allow a trustworthy interpretation.

¹⁹ Cf. *P.Giss.Univ.* 1.2.12 and 24; D. Bonneau, “Le sacrifice du porc et Liloition en Pachôn,” *Chr.d'Ég.* 66 (1991) 330-340.

4 We propose to read κτ[ήν]η, which combined with the possibility of reading ἐννο[μίου] at the end of the same line, suggests the taxes on pasturage and registration of herds. The text is too fragmentary to reconstruct. One would expect a noun like ἀναγραφὴν in the lacuna to the right following ἐννο[μίου], but as said, with great caution.²⁰

5 βα(κιλικήν) appears abbreviated with an alpha standing on top of a *beta*. Other references in the same papyrus (col. 1 ll. 14, 27) are written in full. This deviation however does not seem substantial enough to reject the identification of this fragment as belonging to the decree.

5-6 τοὺς γε]γεωργηκ[ότα]ς τὴν βα(κιλικήν) γῆν closes a section, and the following ἀπο[λύει] probably opens a new period: “The King release so and so from x dues.” The genitive in the following line refers to the tax.

7 το]υ ἔτους πρακ . . . [: It is unclear whether το]υ may be read as the article or as the ending of an adjective in the genitive, like δεκάτου. The traces following πρακ are not clear enough to decide if it stands as an abbreviation of some form of πράκτωρ.²¹ We wonder whether this refers to the πράκτωρ ξενικῶν in his role of vendor of slaves from the Revolt.²²

²⁰ On ἐννόμιον, pasturage tax, see C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Bruxelles 1939) 223-229; A. Monson, *Agriculture and Taxation in Early Ptolemaic Egypt: Demotic Land Surveys and Accounts* (P. Agri). (Bonn 2012) 27; W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* (Cambridge 2009) 2.207. On registration of animals in Syria and Phoenicia, see *C.Ord.Ptol.* 21-22 (260 BCE).

²¹ For this office acting in the Ptolemaic period as bailiffs, see W. Clarysse, “The Archive of the *praktor* Milon,” in K. Vandorpe and W. Clarysse (eds.), *Edfu, an Egyptian Provincial Capital in the Ptolemaic Period* (Bruxelles 2003) 17-27, esp. 22.

²² See *SB* 20.14659. 8-9; *C.Ptol.Sklav.* 5. 15-18. See Veisse, *Les “révoltes égyptiennes”* (n. 2) 166-170, esp. 168-169 n. 47, with further discussion and bibliography.

FIVE *PENTHEMEROS* CERTIFICATES FROM THE CAIRO MUSEUM¹

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Abstract. — Edition of five Greek papyri in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The papyri were found in Euhemereia (Kasr el-Banat) in the Fayum by Grenfell and Hunt in 1898-1899. The texts were described at *P.Fay.* 221, 286, 287, 289, and 290 (= *P.Cair.Cat.* 10819, 10835, 10836, 10838, and 10839). Four date to the second century CE but *P.Fay.* 286 *descr.* (= *P.Cair.Cat.* 10835) dates to the reign of Claudius (41-54 CE); its precise date may be 51-52 CE, which would make it the second earliest *penthemeros* certificate known to date. The five texts are receipts given to residents of the Fayum after the performance of their assigned labor on canals and dikes in the Fayum for five consecutive days, hence the name *penthemeros*. The labor is done on behalf of three Fayumic villages: Euhemereia (2 certificates), Athenas Kome (2), and Psenyris (1). Both Athenas Kome and Psenyris are nowhere else attested in *penthemeros* certificates, while the previously published certificates on behalf of Euhemereia number just four.

General Introduction

In this article five papyrus documents from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,² whose descriptions have been known for a long time, are edited

¹ These papyri are edited as part of the International Seminar on the Cairo Papyri, sponsored by the Association Internationale de Papyrologues (AIP), in cooperation with the Egyptian Museum, the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California, Berkeley (which digitized photographs originally taken several decades ago by the AIP's International Photographic Archive of Papyri), and the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University. Funding for the seminar was provided by the Tianaderrah Foundation and a private donor. The authors want to thank Rodney Ast, Roger Bagnall, Alia Hanafi, and Todd Hickey for their comments on earlier versions of this paper. They are also grateful for the three anonymous reviewers for their valuable corrections and suggestions. The help of the curators of the papyrus collection of the Egyptian museum in Cairo cannot be underestimated. The authors are deeply grateful to all of them as well as to the director and to the board of the Egyptian museum for granting us the permission to publish these pieces.

² The photographs of the papyri edited in this article as well as other Cairo Fayum *descripta* can be accessed through the online International Photographic Archive of papyri

and discussed. They were described, among many others, in 1900 in the fourth section of Grenfell and Hunt's monumental *Fayum Towns and Their Papyri*.³ These texts were described at *P.Fay.* 221, 286, 287, 289, and 290 and at *P.Cair.Cat.* 10819, 10835, 10836, 10838, and 10839.⁴ In what follows the texts are arranged chronologically and referred to as texts **1**, **2**, **3**, **4**, and **5**. All five pieces were found by Grenfell and Hunt in the winter of 1898-1899 during their excavation in Euhemereia (Kasr el-Banat). The texts are *penthemeros* certificates for dike works performed in the first and second century CE on behalf of villages in the Arsinoite nome (Fayum).⁵ Receipts confirming the completion of such forced labor are well attested from 45 until the fourth century CE. The wording of such certificates began to be stereotyped starting from 114/115. From this date on, the receipts contained eight items in the following order⁶:

- (1) the year in which the certificate is issued,
- (2) the phrase εἵργασται ὑπὲρ χωματικῶν,
- (3) the year for which the certificate is issued, e.g. τοῦ αὐτοῦ χ ἔτους,
- (4) the month and day in which the work was performed, e.g. Ἐπεὶφ χ,
- (5) the locality where the work is carried out, e.g. ἐν τῇ Ἐπαγαθιανῇ διώρυγι,
- (6) the administrative unit, i.e. the village, to which the worker belongs and to which his labour is credited, e.g. Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου,
- (7) the name of the worker,
- (8) the signature of the person(s) in charge.

Receipts **2**, **3**, **4**, and **5** follow exactly this wording and sequence. Text **2** is, however, the only receipt where item (8), i.e. the signature of the person(s) in charge, is preserved; the other three certificates (**3**, **4**, and **5**) are either left unsigned or broken at the bottom. The fact that these certificates may have been left unsigned is not unparalleled. Most *penthemeros* certificates are unsigned. The explanation given for this is that these receipts were kept by individuals for their private records or as a

in the Cairo Museum at the following address (<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/>), accessed on April 28, 2011, or through papyri.info.

³ In this fourth section, short descriptions of 227 papyri (from 140-366) are given. All of them were found in the ruins of the five Fayumic villages of Karanis (the pieces numbered from 140-143), Bakchias (144-208), Euhemereia (209-301), Philoteris (302-308), and Theadelphia (309-366).

⁴ Cf. also *BL* 1.132, *BL* 5.29 and *BL* 6.37.

⁵ See *infra* for more on these villages.

⁶ See P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros Certificates in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Leiden 1964) 6-7.

notification that the assigned labor had been performed, but not as legal proof.⁷ This may also hold true for the unsigned receipts here. Receipt **1** preserves, however, the signature of two officials, a typical characteristic of *penthemeros* certificates before 114/115. Receipt **1** is issued in the reign of Claudius (41-54). Its precise date may be the twelfth year of this emperor, i.e. 51-52, if the readings in ll. 1 and 3 are accepted.⁸ Moreover, the wording of **1**, compared with the stereotyped wording of *penthemeros* certificate after 114/115 (attested in texts **2-5**), runs as follows:

- the year in which the certificate is issued (item 1 above),
- the verb *εἵργασται* (the first part of item 2),
- *ἐν τῇ ὁρ(εινῇ) Ἡρακλ(είδου)* (item 5: the locality where the work is carried out),
- *ἐφ' ἡ(μέρας) ε* (item 4: the general specification that the work is done on five consecutive days, but without stating the month and days in which this work was performed),
- *ὕπ(ερ) χωμάτων* (the second part of item 2),
- *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ιβ (ἔτους)* (item 3: the year for which the certificate is issued),
- *Ἐξημερίας* (item 6: the administrative unit to which the work is credited),
- *Μεγχι[ῆ]ς Ἀγχορίμφ(εως) Σίφωνος(ς)* (item 7: the worker's name),
- the signatures in two different hands in lines 6-7; a typical feature of first century *penthemeros* certificates (item 8: signature of the person(s) in charge).

Not all of these pieces of information were added in one step. One distinguishes three steps in the writing of this kind of receipt: first a scribe starts writing the document by noting the date with the imperial titles and the formula *εἵργασται ὑπὲρ χωματικῶν*, then he leaves a space big enough to insert the exact date when the work has been done, the name of the canal or the dike concerned, the name of the village to which the work will be credited, and the name of the worker. All these pieces of information are added later by the supervisor in the field. Eventually, an official, often the *κατασπορεύς*, signs the certificate. The procedure, then, is generally recorded by three different hands, when the signature of the official is preserved.⁹

⁷ See H.C. Youtie, "Notes on O. Mich. I," *TAPA* 71 (1940) 626, n. 21, and cf. also B. Layton, "A Penthemeros Certificate in Harvard University," *ZPE* 6 (1970) 183-185.

⁸ Cf. the commentary to these lines for details about this reading.

⁹ See C. Préaux, "Certificat de prestation de corvée du Brooklyn Museum (P. Brooklyn gr. 7)," *CdÉ* 39 (1964) 120-125 and Sijpesteijn (n. 6) 16, n. 5.

If the certificate was signed by more than one official, which is a typical feature of first century *penthmeros* certificates, more than three hands can be recognized; cf. text **1** for an example of more than three hands, and see the introduction of each individual text for the details concerning the hands at work.

As to the villages to which the work was credited, they are Euhemereia (**1** and **5**), Athenas Kome (**2** and **3**), and probably Psenyris (**4**). Both Athenas Kome and Psenyris are not attested in *penthmeros* certificates elsewhere, while the previously published certificates on behalf of Euhemereia number just four: *P.Hamb.* 1.75 (June 22-July 26, 149),¹⁰ *P.Stras.* 4.249e (June 20-25, 158),¹¹ *P.Ryl.* 2.211 (May 4-June 2, 162), and *P.Ryl.* 2.212 (May 4-June 2, 162). These four documents, as well as the two from Euhemereia published here, have been identified and listed by Sijpesteijn in his standard work under the name of Εὐημέρεια.¹² A new piece of information, which the present publication provides, is that *P.Fay.* 221 *descr.* (**3**) is not on behalf of Euhemereia, where it was found, but on behalf of Athenas Kome, a village which is hardly attested in the papyrological record and never attested before in *penthmeros* certificates.¹³ Text **1** is the first *penthmeros* certificate on behalf of Euhemereia dating to the first century CE to be published.

The principal study concerning this kind of document is P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthmeros Certificates in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Leiden 1964), supplemented by many works and lists of documents by the same author and others (see *P.Mich.* 15, App. I, pp. 141-153, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 130, *P.Sijp.* 41a, the introduction to *P.Sijp.* 42a-h and the texts published there). New texts are R. Pintaui, "Certificati di penthmeros da Tebtynis nella collezione Martin Schøyen (MS 180)," *CdÉ* 80 (2005) 215-218 = *P.Schøyen* 2.28, *P.Bagnall* 30, *P.Pintaui* 25-26 and "A Penthmeros Certificate from the Reign of Caracalla (P.Lund inv. 12)," *ZPE* 178 (2011) 240-242. *Penthmeros* certificates published by W.G. Claytor, "Penthmeros Certificates From the Granary C123, Karanis," *BASP* 50 (2013)

¹⁰ Cf. also *BL* 4.36, *BL* 5.40, and *BL* 9.99.

¹¹ Cf. also *BL* 5.140.

¹² Texts said to be from Euhemereia published in this article (*P.Fay.* 286 = **1**, 221 = **3**, and 290 *descr.* = **5**) are nos. 250, 253, and 256 respectively. The other two texts published here, *P.Fay.* 287 (= **2**) and 289 *descr.* (= **4**), are listed under unknown [villages] as nos. 270 and 275 respectively; cf. Sijpesteijn (n. 6) 36-39.

¹³ Athenas Kome, which is located in the Themistos *meris* of the Arsinoite nome, is not well attested unlike Euhemereia and appears in only 31 documents. For more information and bibliography about this village, see the article on the Fayum Project website: http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/367.php?geo_id=367 (accessed 21.05.2012).

49-76 are the latest published group of such texts known to us. *PSI* 15.1519, 1520, and 1528 represent new editions of previously listed *penthemeros* certificates.

1. *First Century Penthemeros Certificate on Behalf of Euhemereia*

P.Cair.Cat. 10835

H × W = 6.4 × 9.1 cm

Euhemereia

= *P.Fay.* 286 *descr.*

51-52 CE (?)

This small fragment was described as follows: "Certificate of work done on the embankments at Euhemeria by Menches in the reign of Tib. Claudius Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp. (A.D. 40-54). Cf. lxxvii-lxxix. Incomplete. 7 lines. 6.4 × 9.1 cm"; see *P.Fay.*, p. 307. A shorter version of this *descriptum* is to be found at *P.Cair.Cat.* 10835, p. 105. At the upper left-hand side of the papyrus itself, one sees F286 written in red ink, which corresponds to the number given by the editors to the present piece. As stated in the general introduction, this fragment was found in Euhemereia (Kasr el-Banat) in the winter of 1898-1899.¹⁴ It is now bound in glass and housed in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The light brown papyrus has suffered damage in the middle. The middle part of the upper margin, as well as a small part in the middle of the first line, is completely lost. The upper left side of the text, the area containing the beginning of ll. 2, 3 and 4, is in a very unsatisfactory condition; the fibers are delaminated, and the ink is fading and/or completely abraded. From the fifth line to the lower margin a large part in the middle is also missing. The reading of the present text, especially of the name of the water-canal, that of the *katasporeus*, and that of the *antigraphheus*, remains uncertain because of the above-mentioned damage and losses. The left margin measures 1.8 cm, the lower 0.6 cm, the right 1.0 cm, and the upper 1.7 cm. The left margin is the only margin that is completely preserved.

The writing runs parallel to the fibers on the front. One can see that there are four hands at work in this certificate. The first hand is small, cursive, slanting to the right, sloping down, and fast. This hand wrote the upper formulaic part of the certificate until the beginning of the fourth line. As is usual in *penthemeros* certificates, this part has been written extremely fast, in so-called *Verschleifung*.¹⁵ The second hand is slower,

¹⁴ See the introduction to *P.Fay.* 43.

¹⁵ This part was probably written in the office of the *katasporeus*; see Sijpesteijn (n. 6) 16, n. 5.

bigger, more careful, and less cursive than the first one. It added both the name of the village, to which the dike work is credited, i.e. Euhemereia, at the end of the fourth line, and the name of the worker, which occupies the fifth line.¹⁶ In the sixth line, the third hand has signed the certificate. This is presumably the hand of the so-called κατασπορεύς, who shows considerable difficulties in controlling his pen and ink except in his name; see his thick *iota-omega* and *mu-alpha* and cf. his signature (l. 4 Πετε-σοῦχ(ος) [κα]τ(ασπορεύς) σεσημείωμαι). The fourth hand, which occupies the seventh line, is that of the second signer of the present certificate: the *antigraphus* of dikes from the office of the *basilikos grammateus*.¹⁷ His hand is more trained and flowing than the hand of the *katasporeus*, but still small and cursive. It makes good use of the space available, abbreviating most of the words (Δίδ[υμος (?) ἀν]τιγρα(φεύς) χω(μάτων) βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως) σεση(μείωμαι)). The back of this piece is blank.

The present text is interesting in more than one respect. It is one of the earliest known *penthemeros* certificates. The earliest one published so far is *P.Bon.* 31 (Tebtynis, 44/45). It is also the earliest *penthemeros* certificate on behalf of Euhemereia to be published.¹⁸ It is signed by two supervising officials: Petesouchos, most probably the *katasporeus*, and Didymos, the *antigraphus* in charge of dikes from the office of the *basilikos grammateus*.¹⁹ It attests a new desert canal called Herakleides (?).

The present certificate is issued in the reign of Claudius (41-54). Its precise date may be the twelfth year of this emperor, i.e., 51-52.²⁰ The uncertainty about the date results from loss of text in the first line as well as the uncertain reading in line four, but even if my reading is not accepted, it is still a first century *penthemeros* certificate and the earliest one attesting dike work on behalf of Euhemereia. The certificate is issued to Menches son of Anchorimphis, grandson of Siphon. The five-days' work is credited to the village of Euhemereia and was most probably performed in a desert canal called Herakleides.²¹

¹⁶ Both these items were added on the spot by the so-called "surveyor of the work"; see again Sijpesteijn (n. 6) 16, n. 5.

¹⁷ Cf. line commentary *infra*.

¹⁸ For a list of texts see the general introduction *supra*.

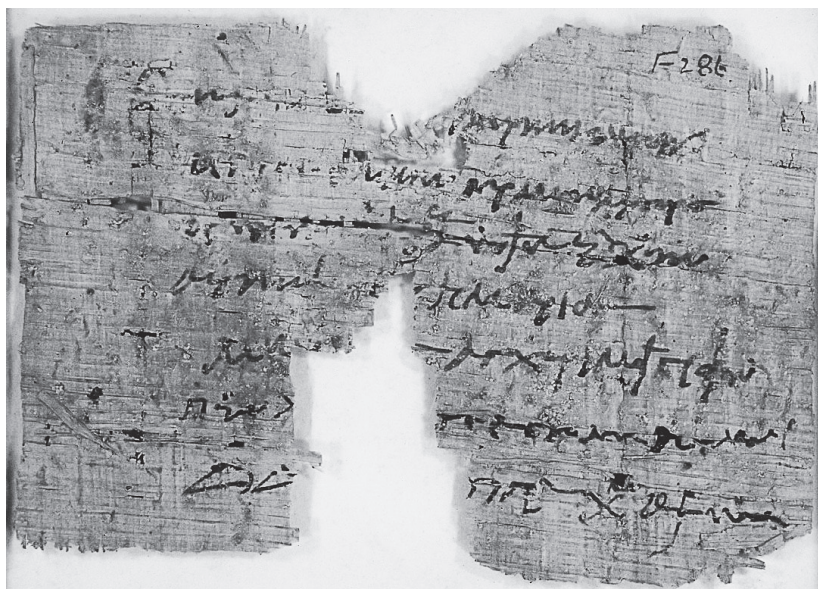
¹⁹ As indicated in the general introduction, this a characteristic feature of most of the *penthemeros* certificates which were issued before 114/115; for a full explanation see Sijpesteijn (n. 6) 16, Sijpesteijn, "Three Tax-Receipts from the Michigan Papyrus Collection," *ZPE* 103 (1994) 94, and cf. also T. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* (Leipzig 2002) 306-310.

²⁰ See the commentary on ll. 3-4.

²¹ For details cf. *infra*.

- Ἔτους δωδε[κάτου] Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικ(οῦ) Αὐτοκράτ(ορος).
 ἐ[ῖ]ρ(γασται) ἐν τῇ ὁρ(εινῇ) Ἡρακ(λείδου) ἐφ' ἡ(μέρας) ἑ̅ ὑπ(ἐρ)
 χ(ωμάτων) τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ ιβ (ἔτους) (m. 2) Εὐημερίας
 5 Μενχ[ῆ]ς Ἀγχορίμφ(εως) Σίφωνος(ς).
 (m. 3) Πετεσοῦχ(ος) (?) [κα]τ(ασπορεὺς) σεσημείωμαι.
 (m. 4) Δίδ[υ]μος (?) ἀντιγρα(φεὺς) χω(μάτων) βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμμα-
 τῶς) σεση(μείωμαι).

2 γερμανικ, αυτοκρατ pap. 3 ει[], ορ, ηρακ, εφη, ἑ̅, υπ, χω pap. 4 L pap.
 5 αγχοριμφ, σιφω pap. 6 πετε-χ pap. 7]τιγρα, χω, βα, γρ, σεση pap.



“The 12th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator. Has performed in the desert canal of Herakleides for five days’ work on the dikes for the same 12th year (m. 2) on behalf of Euhemereia, Menches son of Anchorimphis, grandson of Siphon.

(m. 3) I Petesouchos, the *katasporeus*, have signed.

(m. 4) I, Didymos (?), the *antigrapheus* in charge of dikes from the office of the *basilikos grammateus*, have signed.”

1 The ink-traces after $\xi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ are faint: $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon[\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon]$ is supplemented according to the reading of the year in l. 4, which is in itself very doubtful too. Nevertheless, $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon[\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon]$ suits both the letter traces and the space available quite well. The space suggests a year after the tenth year of Claudius: either the eleventh or twelfth – written in full – or the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth – written either in abbreviation or in *Verschleifung*.

3 Most of the writing at the beginning of this line is faded and/or damaged, but according to Sijpesteijn, in most first century *penthemeros* certificates one should expect immediately following the year of the reigning emperor, a form of the verb $\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, the locality where the work was performed, and then $\epsilon\phi'$ $\eta(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma)$ $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon$.²² The preposition $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ following the traces of the two letters at the beginning of the line suggests that these two letters are part of a form of the verb $\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. I prefer to put $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}[\rho](\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota)$ in my text, first because it is the most common form used in this type of document and second because $\epsilon\iota$ fit the traces better than $\eta\rho$. The letter after $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ appear to be a *tau*, which could be the definite article of a noun in the dative. Before $\epsilon\phi'$ $\eta(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma)$ one can read Ἡρακ() .²³ The reading of this line would then be $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}[\rho](\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota)$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\delta\tilde{\rho}(\epsilon\iota\nu\tilde{\eta})$ Ἡρακ(λείδου) . An $\delta\tilde{\rho}\epsilon\iota\nu\tilde{\eta}$ Ἡρακλείδου is not attested, but cf. $\delta\tilde{\rho}\epsilon\iota\nu\tilde{\eta}$ Πολ(έμωνος) in the first dated *penthemeros* certificate *P.Bon.* 31.4 (Tebtynis, 44/45): $\eta\rho\gamma(\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron)$ $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\delta\tilde{\rho}\iota\nu\tilde{\eta}$ (*l. \delta\tilde{\rho}\epsilon\iota\nu\tilde{\eta}*) Πολ(έμωνος) . The desert canal of Herakleides would probably be a desert canal that is situated in the Herakleides *meris*. The nearby village of Herakleia is not located at the edge of the desert. For a man from Theadelphia working as far as the desert canal of Polemon near Tebtynis, cf. the case of the well-known Aunes son of Haryotes in *P.Mich.* 12.655.4: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau(\tilde{\eta})$ $\delta\tilde{\rho}\epsilon\iota\nu(\tilde{\eta})$ Πολ(έμωνος) (Theadelphia, 57/58).²⁴

5 Although the vertical stroke after the lacuna does not look exactly like a *sigma*, I think it is consistent with the *sigmas* in this hand; cf. the final *sigma* of Εὐημερίας at the end of l. 4. The name of the worker, his

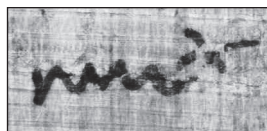
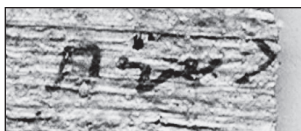
²² See Sijpesteijn (n. 19) 95.

²³ A much appreciated suggestion of Rodney Ast.

²⁴ For more on the navigable and desert canals in the Fayum, see D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (Leiden 1993) 17-18, and on the irrigation system in Fayum see more recently B.J. Haug, "Watering the Desert: Environment, Irrigation, and Society in the Premodern Fayyūm, Egypt" (University of California, Berkeley 2012) and R.J. Cook, "Landscapes of Irrigation in the Ptolemaic and Roman Fayum: Interdisciplinary Archeological Survey and Excavation Near Kom Aushim (Karanis)" (University of Michigan 2011).

father, and his grandfather are popular among the inhabitants of Euhemereia, but it is the first time we hear about someone called Μενχ[ῆ]ς Ἀγχορίμ-φ(εως) Σίφωνο(ς) in *penthemeros* certificates.²⁵

6 Πετεσοῦχ(ος) (?): It seems at first sight that the χ is raised to indicate abbreviation of the name, i.e. Πετε(σοῦ)χ(ος), which would be a highly unusual type of abbreviation for this period. More probable – but “hazardous,” to put it in Sijpesteijn’s words²⁶ – is that what stands between the initial *pi* and final *chi* and looks like a wave should be taken as all the intervening letters but written extremely quickly in *Verschleifung*. Compare the way in which Πετεσοῦχ(ον) is written in l. 6 of *SB* 16.12860 (= *BGU* 7.1596). The sections where the name appears in the two fragments are given here to facilitate the comparison. The section to the left belongs to the current piece, the one to the right to *SB* 16.12860.²⁷



– [κα]τ(ασπορεύς): The *tau* is doubtful as indicated, but the restored title suits the size of the lacuna well; cf. also the same way of abbreviating κατασπορεύς (κατ()) in l. 5 of the *penthemeros* certificate *SB* 18.13363 (Tebtynis, 98/99).²⁸ It is to be noted that clarifying a signer’s identity by adding κατασπορεύς after his name is rare in first century *penthemeros* certificates.²⁹ The κατασπορεύς is a public official responsible for organizing, controlling, and inspecting the dike work. The documentation of all these activities runs therefore through his office. Many of the *penthemeros* certificates bear his signature.³⁰

²⁵ See J. France, “Theadelphia and Euhemereia: Village History in Greco-Roman Egypt” (KU Leuven 1999) 290 and the TM_namID’s of these names through the following links www.trismegistos.org/name/453, www.trismegistos.org/name/17 and www.trismegistos.org/name/7639 respectively.

²⁶ He was commenting on the titlature at the beginning of the certificate, which also holds true for the other components of this kind of document: P.J. Sijpesteijn, “Three More First-Century Penthemeros Certificates,” *CdÉ* 58 (1983) 14.

²⁷ For more examples see U. Gad, *Korr.Tyche* 826.

²⁸ The image of this piece is available at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;18;13363>.

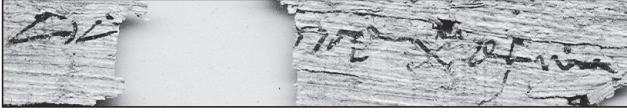
²⁹ Cf. Sijpesteijn (n. 26) 209

³⁰ For more about this office see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Firenze 1997) 33, Bonneau (n. 24) 168-173 and 170-171, n. 6, Sijpesteijn (n. 6) 15-17, *BGU* 16, the introduction of 2560-2576 and the literature cited there, pp. 17-18.

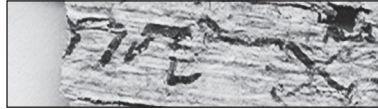
– σεσημειώμαι: The thick *iota* in the middle of σεσημειώμαι as well as the quite thick right hand side of the *mu* along with most parts of the following *alpha* – especially its beginning – makes one think in the first place that the κατασπορεύς might have run out of ink at these points. So, he inserted his *kalamos* in the inkwell and then continued to finish his signature where his ink was running low, i.e. at the *iota*. The *iota* as a result became thicker. Another possibility would be that the surface at these places was not smooth, so that the κατασπορεύς needed to rewrite the then faded parts once more.

7 Δίδ[υμος (?) ἀν]τιγρα(φεύς): Many restorations could be proposed here, but if we limit ourselves to the attested names of signers of *pen-themeros* certificates in the first century CE we find the following. Δίδυ[is attested as the second signer in *SB* 16.12862 = *P.Leeds Museum* 20, which is dated either to the reign of Claudius or Nero, i.e. sometime between 41-68; cf. Κλαυδί[ου in the beginning of line 2. The provenance of this piece is unknown, but undoubtedly the Arsinoite nome. No title is preserved in this fragment for this Δίδυ[, as most of the right hand side is missing. The editor says however that the supplement “Δίδυ[μος ... is practically certain.” From this certainty, she goes on to try to narrow down the dating possibilities of the text, stating “... if the Didymos of the text under review is identical with the Didymos who signs *SB* VI 9560 (Theadelphia, 52/53 AD), we may pronounce a slight preference for the reign of Claudius.” So, she prefers – however slightly – to put the text in the same general chronological framework to which the present text belongs, i.e., the reign of Claudius (41-54). Geographically, *SB* 6.9560 and the present papyrus come from Theadelpheia and Euhemereia respectively. Consequently, there is a great probability that the present Δίδ[υμος (?) is the same official who signed the two abovementioned certificates. The title of the official here poses, however, a problem. The Δίδυμ(ος) who appears as the third signer in *SB* 6.9560 (Theadelpheia, 52/53) is said to be γρ(αμματεὺς) β(ασιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως).³¹ The present Δίδ[υμος (?) is ἀν]τιγρα(φεύς) χω(μάτων) βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως). For the purpose of comparison, the section which contains the signature of these two officials is presented here.

³¹ Cf. *BL* 7.210



The first excerpt is the last line of *SB* 6.9560, while the second comes from the present certificate. They are similar hands, but one can argue that they are not the same hands. I think, however, that the way in which they both abbreviate βα(σιλικοῦ) γραμματέως is peculiar and telling (cf. *infra*). What catches my eye in both is the one stroke βαγ-: the *gammas* in both examples are reduced to a horizontal stroke transected by the vertical *hasta* of the *rho* whose tail extends backwards under the line (see the attached sections of both signatures). If my argument about the hands is accepted, the change of the titles in both documents is not a problem. Our Didymos would not be the only *penthemeros* certificate's signer to move from being an *antigrapheus* of the royal scribe to being his *grammateus*.³² I am therefore inclined to accept them as the one and the same Didymos.³³



– βα(σιλικοῦ) γραμματέως: The *beta*, *alpha*, and *gamma* are written in one stroke, so that the *gamma* is represented as the extension of the *alpha* and appears only as a horizontal line. The *rho* is then written above this horizontal line, transecting it and extending below the line of writing; cf. the attached section of the image to the left. The same principle is not applied with the same letters, i.e., the *gamma* and *rho*, in the

³² Cf. for example the case of Souchion in Kruse (n. 19) 309, n. 777.

³³ For the details of duties conducted by the office of the *basilikos grammateus* and his staff concerning the administration of irrigation see Kruse (n. 19) 306-310.

abbreviation of ἀν]τιγρα(φεύς) in the same line, where the *gamma* and *rho* are written after one another. The abbreviated word is then indicated here by the raised *alpha*. The raised *omega* was used as the indication of the abbreviation of χω(μάτων); likewise cf. the attached section of the image to the right.

2. Penthemeros Certificate on Behalf of Athenas Kome

P.Cair.Cat. 10836
= *P.Fay.* 287 descr.

H × W = 6,3 × 6,8 cm

Euhemereia
Febr. 27-March 3, 153 CE

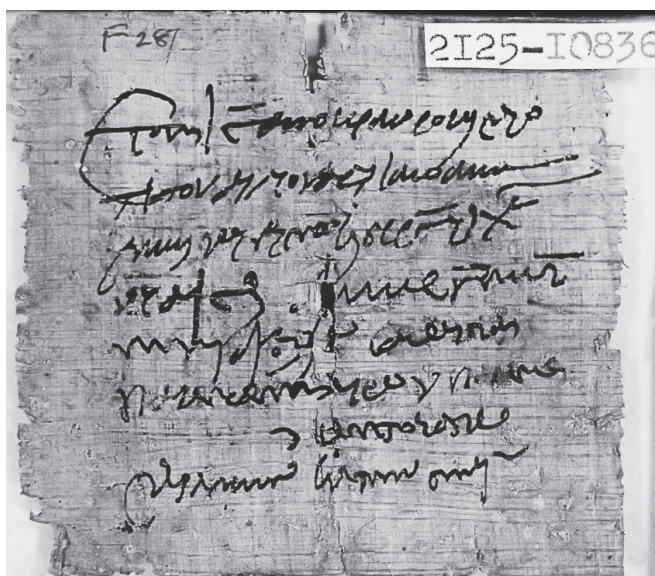
This papyrus was described as follows “Certificate for five days’ work at the embankments ἐν τῇ Φολ() διώ(ρυγι) by Sathepas. Dated in the sixteenth year of Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadr. Antoninus Aug. Pius, Phamenoth (A.D. 153). Complete. 8 lines. 6.3 × 6.8 cm.”; see *P.Fay.*, p. 308. A shorter version of this *descriptum* is to be found at *P.Cair.Cat.* 10836, p. 105. The papyrus is complete and the margins are preserved. The *verso* is blank. As is typical of this kind of receipts, three hands are at work in this text.³⁴ The signature of Sarapion, the κατασπορεύς (l. 8), stands out from the rest of the text. It is too quickly written to the degree that only the first letter is recognizable, while the others are reduced to waves. The other two semi-cursive hands that wrote the first two parts of the text are much more difficult to differentiate from one another, but one can see that the first part of the receipt (ll. 1-4) is faster and tilted, while the second part (ll. 4-7), which was probably written in the field, is slower and somewhat upright. This part contains the name of the worker and the name of the village to which the work was credited.

Text 2 is a *penthemeros* certificate delivered to Pabetheus, son of Heron, grandson of Pabetheus, his mother being Thentouapis. He is a brother, in all likelihood of Orseus, son of Heron, grandson of Pabetheus, his mother being Thentouapis attested in text 3. Moreover, this text is one of the only two known attestations of dike works performed on behalf of Athenas Kome; the other one is again text 3. Athenas Kome in this text (l. 5) is written over another place name that has been erased. This could have been Euhemereia, the place of origin of this text and of text 3. For more details see the discussion in the commentary to l. 5 and text 3.

³⁴ For more general details on this feature, see the general introduction.

- Ἔτους ιζ̄ Αὐτοκράτορο(ς) Καίσαρο(ς)
 Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανο(ῦ) Ἀντωνίνου)
 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς. εἰργ(ασται) ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικῶν)
 τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ις̄ (ἔτους) (m. 2) Φαμ(ενῶθ) γ̄ ἔω(ς) ζ̄
 5 ἐν τῇ Φολ(ήμεως) διώ(ρυγι) Ἀθηνᾶς
 Παβεθεῦς Ἡρω(νος) τρ(ῦ) Παβεθ(έως)
 μη(τρὸς) Θεντουάπιο(ς).
 (m. 3) Σαραπίων κατασπο(ρεὺς) σεσημ(εῖωμαι).

2 αντω pap. 3 ειργ, υπ, χω pap. 5 αθηνας: corr. ex εὐημερίας pap.



“The 16th year of Emperor Cesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius. Has performed work on the dikes for the same 16th year (m. 2) from the 3rd to the 7th Phamenoth in the Pholemia canal on behalf of Athenas (Kome): Pabetheus, son of Heron, grandson of Pabetheus, his mother being Thentouapis.

(m. 3) I, Serapion, the *katasporeus*, have signed.”

4 Φαμ(ενῶθ) γ̄ ἔω(ς) ζ̄: The writing of the month name is very cursive. At the beginning, the loop and the vertical line of a *phi* can be distinguished, but the rest of the letters are not easily distinguishable from

each other. As the last letter is not a *iota*, but looks like a *theta* because of its curl, I would resolve it as Φαμ(ενώθ) rather than as Φαῶφι. The duty of maintenance of the irrigation network usually lasts 5 days and is performed during the months of May, June, July, and August. In this certificate, the work has been executed in the month of Φαμενώθ (February/March), which is uncommon, but not without parallels: cf. *SB* 1.5124 (Tebtynis, September 17, 193), *O.Mich.* 2.832 (Karanis, third century CE), *O.Mich.* 2.838 (Karanis, third century CE).

5 ἐν τῇ Φολ(ήμεως) διώ(ρυγι): The reading of the canal's name was suggested by Sijpesteijn.³⁵ The Pholemis canal is known from other certificates of work performed on dikes.³⁶ This canal is attested from 57/58 (*P.Mich.* 12.654, Fayum) to 201 (*P.Lips* 2.150, Tebtynis). The Pholemis canal also appears in *SB* 1.5124 (Tebtynis, September 17, 193) which is a list compiling works performed on several dikes. 4 out of the 7 certificates attesting works performed in the Pholemis canal come from Tebtynis and 2 from Euhemereia. Does that mean that the Pholemis canal is closer to Euhemereia, the place where the papyrus comes from, than to Athenas Kome, the place where the taxpayer lives?

Α διῶρυξ is an artificial canal (unlike a ποταμός), designed to bring water from the Nile to supply the network. These canals, which are regularly maintained, have a proper name (here Φόλημις).³⁷

– Ἀθηνᾶς (κώμη): The name of Ἀθηνᾶς was written over another longer name, which has been erased and of which only traces are left. The first letter of these traces, partially hidden by the *alpha* of Ἀθηνᾶς, is semicircular. It could be an *epsilon*, possibly followed by an *upsilon*, then an *eta*. We may think of Εὐημερίας; the place name where Grenfell and Hunt found the papyrus. In their description of the papyrus, they suggested reading Σαθηπᾶς, a personal name of the worker who performed the forced labor. To my knowledge, such a name is never attested in papyri. The initial σ identified by Grenfell and Hunt is probably the first semicircular letter of the word over which Ἀθηνᾶς was written. The traces of the erased fifth letter looks to me like a Latin *n*, more than a *pi*: The presence of a distinctive loop in the lower left angle, visible in other *pi*'s (in l. 5 Παβεθεῦς and Θεντουάπιος), as well as in l. 7 Θεντουάπιος) cannot be recognized here.

³⁵ See Sijpesteijn (n. 6) 68, reported in *BL* 5.29.

³⁶ For a list of certificates mentioning it, see <http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/detail.php?tm=1794&i=1>.

³⁷ For more about this subject, see Bonneau (n. 24) 13-18.

Athenas Kome was located in the Themistos *meris*, probably in its southern part.³⁸ This certificate is, to my knowledge, the first of only two texts attesting the completion of forced labor on behalf of Athenas (Kome); the other one is text 3.

6-7 Παβεθεῦς Ἡρώ(νος) τοῦ Παβεθ(έως) ἰμη(τρός) Θεντουάπιο(ς): Most probably the brother of Ὀρ[σ]εῦς Ἡρώ(νος) τοῦ Παβεθέω(ς) ἰμη(τρός) Θεντουάπειος who appears in text 3.9-10 as the person who has done the work, which is there credited to Athenas Kome as well. The two papyri were found in the same place (Euhemereia), and both certify a man as having performed dike work on behalf of the same village (Athenas Kome); the two share rare matronymics, patronymics, and papponymics. The name Παβεθεῦς is new; it is tempting to relate it to the female name Ταβεθεῦς (*P.Mich.* 8.473.1 and maybe *P.Mich.* 8.474.1), attested in Karanis during the first quarter of the second century CE. Although the prefixes *p*ʒ- and *t*ʒ- confirm the Egyptian origin of the two names, it is nevertheless impossible to guess the etymology, especially in the absence of a bilingual document. The name Θεντουᾶπις is very rare. Until now, it is attested only once in Theadelphia, in *BGU* 9.1891.298 (December 3, 133 CE). Text 3 is the third attestation of Θεντουᾶπις. It is without doubt an Egyptian name (the prefix Θεν- corresponds to the expression *t*ʒ *šr. t*, “the daughter of”), but in the absence of an attested Demotic equivalent, its etymology also remains unknown.

7 ἰμη(τρός) Θεντουάπιο(ς): There might be some traces of ink before ἰμη(τρός), maybe from a previous text.

8 Σαραπίων κατασπ(ορεύς): This signature is attested in another *penthemeros* certificate, *SPP* 22.159 (Soknopaiou Nesos, August 6, 152 CE) and probably in *SB* 16.12.319 (Karanis, August 6, 152 CE).³⁹ This official is probably also attested in other dike certificates, in which his title does not appear: *PSI* 9.1046-1047 (Soknopaiou Nesos, both dated to June 26, 155 CE) and *SB* 10.10542 (Tebtynis, May 17, 158 CE).⁴⁰

³⁸ See *Dizionario* 1.1, p. 30; *Suppl.* 1, p. 11; *Suppl.* 2, p. 7; *Suppl.* 3, p. 12; *Suppl.* 4, p. 11; *Suppl.* 5, p. 11; and B. Van Beek and W. Clarysse, “Athenas Kome (meris Themistos),” at http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/367.php?geo_id=367.

³⁹ As suggested by P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp, “Six Dykes Certificates,” *BASP* 16 (1979) 131-135.

⁴⁰ Cf. also commentary to l. 6 of text 1 above.

3. Penthemeros Certificate on Behalf of Athenas Kome

P.Cair.Cat. 10819 H × W= 7.4 × 5.6 cm
= *P.Fay.* 221 *descr.*

Euhemereia
March-July 161 CE

The description in *P.Fay.*, p. 302 runs as follows “Certificate of Work done at the embankments from Mesore 10-14 by Athenas; cf. lxxvii-lxxix. Dated in the first year of Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Ant. Aug. and Imp. Caes. L. Aurel. Verus Aug. (A.D. 161). Practically complete, 10 lines. 7.4 × 5.6 cm.” A shorter version of this *descriptum* is to be found at *P.Cair.Cat.* 10819, p. 103. The text runs along the fibers. The other side is probably blank. At the bottom there is a margin measuring 2.0 cm; the top margin is 0.7 cm. There is also a narrow margin on the left hand side as well as on the right hand side; it ranges between 0.5 cm and 1.0 cm. There is a large hole at the end of lines 7-8. Two moderately cursive hands are at work in this text. The second hand begins at the end of l. 6. The presence of two hands reflects the general practice whereby, because of the large numbers of certificates issued annually, the first portion of each was drawn up in advance, while the details of date, locality, and administrative unit were filled in on the spot.⁴¹

The receipt is issued to Orseus, son of Heron, grandson of Pabetheus, his mother being Thentouapis. It is the second of only two currently known certificates attesting the completion of *penthemeros* work performed on behalf of Athenas Kome; the other is *P.Fay.* 287 *descr.*, published here as text 2. That text is interestingly enough issued to Pabetheus son of Heron, grandson of Pabetheus, his mother being Thentouapis, in all probability a brother of our Orseus; see the introduction to text 2 and the commentary to ll. 6-7 there. The certificate here is unsigned, which in itself is not extraordinary, since the overwhelming majority of such certificates are not signed.⁴²

Ἔτους ᾧ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου
Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου
5 Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ. εἶργ(ασται) ὑπὲρ

⁴¹ For more details see the general introduction.

⁴² See the general introduction for more details on this.

χω(ματικῶν) τοῦ αὐτοῦ \bar{a} (ἔτους) (m. 2) Μεσορή

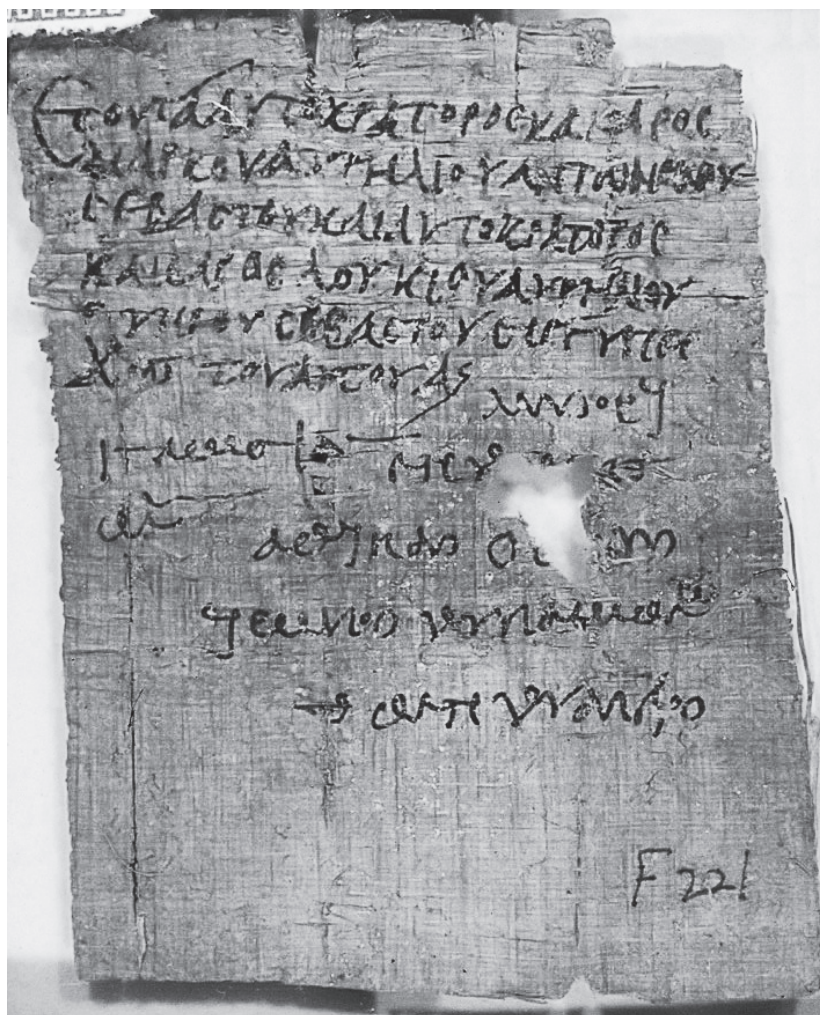
ῑ ξως ιδ̄ ἐν τ<ῇ> ὀρ(εινῇ) Ἐξαθ(ύρω)

Θεα(δελφείας). Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀρ[σ]εὺς

Ἡρωνος τοῦ Παβεθέω(ς)

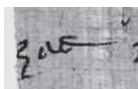
10 (μητρὸς) Θεντουάπειος.

5 ειργ̄ pap. 6 χω pap. 8 θεᾶ pap.

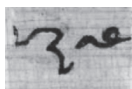


“The 1st year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus. Has performed work on the dikes for the same first year, (m. 2) from the 10th to the 14th of Mesore, in the desert canal of the six-gate sluice of Theadelphia, on behalf of Athenas Kome: Orseus, son of Heron, grandson of Pabetheus, his mother being Thentouapis.”

7 ἐν τῇ ὀρ(εῖνῃ) ἐξᾱθ(ύρω): After the letter *tau* there is a small loop that may be the letter *omicron*. These two letters are similar to the first two letters of τοῦ in line 9. The reading is problematic, but one could recognize ἐν here, followed by το, the beginning of the canal name; the letter *eta* was omitted by the scribe, and the letter *omicron* is the beginning of the adjective ὀρεινῇ. For the formula ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ + the canal name, cf. *P.Kron.* 56 (120 CE); 68 (150 CE); 69 (153 CE); *SB* 22.15864 (168 CE). At the end of this line there are the two letters αθ, which we may complete as Ἐξᾱθ(ύρω); for the reading cf. *SB* 6.9231 (106 CE) Inv. 2912; Inv. 5307.⁴³



SB 6.9231



Inv. 2912



Inv. 5307

Text 3

8-9 Ὀρ[σ]εὺς Ἡρώνοιο τοῦ Παβεθέω(ς): The *omicron* is very clear, and then we see the rounded small loop of *rho*, followed by the rest of the name, ending in εὺς, after the lacuna; these three letters are written very cursively. The name of the worker and his father's name are popular in Euhemereia in the second century CE. Cf. *P.Fay.* 287 *descr.*, published here as text 2 (Euhemereia, February 27-March 3, 153 CE) is issued to Pabetheus son of Heron, grandson of Pabetheus, his mother being Thentouapis. This is probably the brother of our Orseus; see text 2.6.

10 μητρός Θενοτάπειος: the scribe wrote only a symbol for the word μητρός. For parallels cf. *BGU* 3.877 (159 CE) and *P.Cair.Preis.* 26 (148 CE). For the mother's name see 2.6-7n.



BGU 3.877



P.Cair.Preis. 26



Text 3

⁴³ For a list of *penthmeros* certificates attesting Ἐξᾱθύρω see O.M. Pearl, “Ἐξᾱθύρος: Irrigation Works and Canals in the Arsinoite Nome,” *Aegyptus* 31 (1951) 223-230, and see also F.W. Jenkins, “A Penthmeros Certificate from the Berkeley Collection,” *ZPE* 41 (1981) 262.

4. Penthemeros Certificate on Behalf of Psenyris (?)

*P.Cair.Cat.*10838

H × W = 4.2 × 6.5 cm

Euhemereia

= *P.Fay.* 289 *descr.*

May 24-27, 192 CE

The fragment is described in *P.Fay.*, p. 308 as “ Certificate for five days’ work at the embankments ἐν] χά(ματι ?) Δρυ(). Dated in the thirty-second year of L. Aurelius Commodus Caesar the lord (A.D. 192). Incomplete, the ends of lines being lost. 6 lines. 4.2 × 6.5 cm.” A shorter version of this *descriptum* is to be found at *P.Cair.Cat.* 10838, p. 106. The text is written in a small, cramped, and moderately cursive hand in bold ink except the last three lines. The right margin ranges between 0.7 cm and 1.5 cm, the lower margin is 0.5 cm, and there are no margins on the left and at the top. The text runs parallel to the fibers. As is usually the case, three hands were employed to draft the text. The first is a bureaucratic cursive, and slightly crabbed, the second is rather sprawling, and the third writes very large and clear semi-uncials.

The text is a certificate of work done at the embankments from the 28th of Pachon to the 2nd of Payni. This is the first time we have a *penthemeros* certificate from Psenyris on the Psyon canal.⁴⁴ It is broken at the bottom, so we cannot know for sure if it is signed or unsigned. If it was left unsigned, this would not have been a surprise as most certificates were not signed.⁴⁵

Ἔτου[ς] λβ̄ Λουκί[ο]υ [Αἰλίου]

Αὐρηλίου Κο<μ>μόδ[ου Καίσαρος]

τοῦ κυρί[ο]υ. εἰργ(ασται) [ὑπὲρ χά(ματικῶν) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) λβ̄ (ἔτους)]

(m. 2) Παχῶ(ν) κη̄ ξω(ς) Παῦ[(νι) β̄ ἐν]

5 χά(ματι) δρυ(μοῦ) Ψύων Ψεϛ[ύ]ρ-

εως (m. 3) Νει[. . .]ς Ἡρωνο[ς]

3 ειργ̄ pap. 5 χά̄, δρῡ pap.

⁴⁴ The text does not come from Soknopaiou Nesos, as has been previously supposed: see *BL* 5.29.

⁴⁵ See the general introduction for details on this feature.

“The 32nd year of Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus Caesar the lord. Has performed work on the dikes for the 32nd year, (m. 2) from the 28th of Pachon to the 2nd of Payni, at the dike of the Psyon marsh, on behalf of Psenyris: (m. 3) Nei... son of Heron.”

1-3 ἔτου[ς] λβ̄ Λουκί[ο]υ [Αἰλίου Αὐρηλίου Κο<μ>μόδ[ου Καί-
σαρος: The 32nd year of Lucius Commodus corresponds to 192 CE. The imperial names are cursive, faded, and damaged.⁴⁶

3 εἶργ(ασται) [ὕ(πέρ) χω(ματικῶν) τοῦ α(ὕτοῦ) λβ̄ (ἔτους)]: The first four letters εἶργ are clear to read, and the verb abbreviated as usual; the lacuna at the end of this line would have contained the formula ὕ(πέρ) χω(ματικῶν) τοῦ α(ὕτοῦ) λβ̄ (ἔτους) as usual in such receipts.⁴⁷

4 Παχῶ(ν) κῆ̄ ἔως Πα[ῦνι β̄]: The period covered here is five days, as expected, from 28th of Pachon until the 2nd of Payni.⁴⁸

5 χῶ(ματι) δρυ(μοῦ): This reading is recorded in *BL* 5.29. Only the letters *chi* and *omega* are visible, and then the word is abbreviated, as usual in such certificates. Cf., e.g., *P.Aberd.* 36a (140 CE), *P.Lond.* 3.841b (160 CE), *P.Sijp.* 42e (176 CE).

– Ψύων⁴⁹: The first two letters (*psi* and *upsilon*) are written clearly, then the *omega* and *nu* are written very cursively. The canal of Psenyris village is mentioned only one other time in the *penthemeros* certificates; cf. *P.Sijp.* 42e (Arsinoite nome, 176 CE).

5-6 Ψεγ[ύ]ρεως⁵⁰: The letter *psi* is written very clearly, then traces of the letters *epsilon* and *nu*, followed by a trace of a vertical line, which should be *rho*. The rest of the village name is written at the beginning of l. 6. For Psenyris (“the lake of Horus”) cf. *BGU* 2.538 (100 CE), *BGU* 12.1624 (201-300 CE), *BGU* 13.2281 (188-9 CE), *Chr.Wilck.* 279 (263 CE), and *C.Pap.Gr* 2.1. 28 (126 CE). Psenyris (Ἄνω and Κάτω) was in the *meris* of

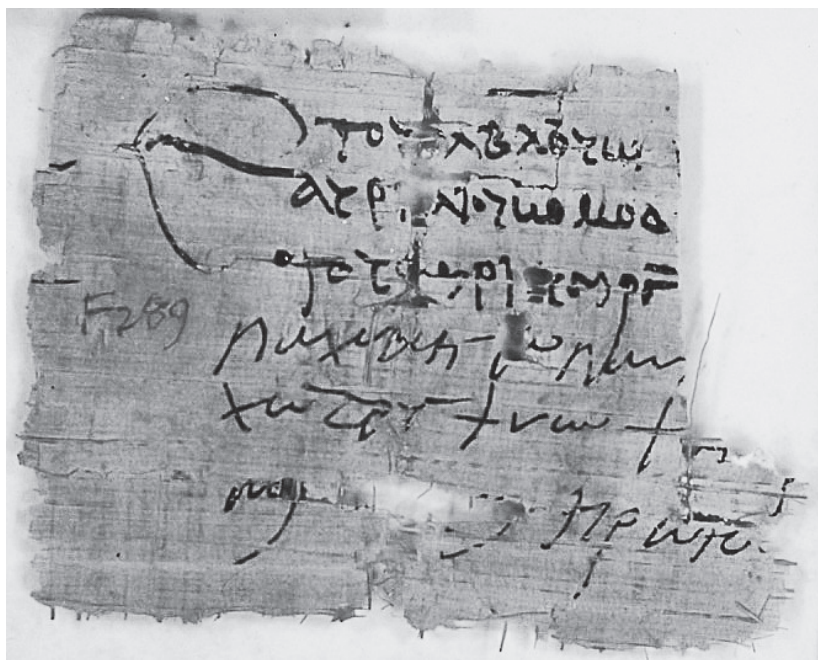
⁴⁶ For the imperial titles see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C. – 284 p.C.)* (Bruxelles 1964) 90.

⁴⁷ Cf., e.g., *P.Fouad* 63 (192 CE); see R. Coles, “P. Fouad 63 Revised,” *ZPE* 9 (1972) 237-239, and the general introduction above.

⁴⁸ *BL* 5.29 records reading the days as from the 3rd to the 7th of Phamenoth, with which I cannot agree.

⁴⁹ See *Dizionario* 5, p. 171; *Suppl.* 1, p. 250; *Suppl.* 2, p. 246; *Suppl.* 3, p. 165; *Suppl.* 4, p. 144; *Suppl.* 5, p. 112; Wessely, *Topographie* (1904) 160. – On the relation of canal and village in the receipts see Pearl (n. 43).

⁵⁰ See *P.Tebt.* 2, pp. 410-412.



Herakleides of the Arsinoite nome; cf. *Dizionario* 5, pp. 155-156 (1); p. 156; pp. 156-157; *Suppl.* 1, p. 250 (1); *Suppl.* 2, p. 243 (1); *Suppl.* 3, p. 164 (1); p. 164; *Suppl.* 4, p. 143 (1); *Suppl.* 5, p. 111 (1); p. 111; Timm, pp. 2034-2035; Wessely, *Topographie* (1904) 163-165; *P.Tebt.* 2, pp. 410-411.

5. *Penthemeros Certificate on Behalf of Euhemereia*

P.Cair.Cat. 10839
= *P.Fay.* 290 *descr.*

H × W = 5.5 × 5.5 cm

Euhemereia
May 10-14, 195 CE

This brown papyrus fragment was described in *P.Fay.*, p. 308 as follows "Certificate for five days' work at the embankments ἐν τῷ πρωτ() Χάλικος Εὐη(μερίας) by Sisois. Dated in the third year of L. Septimius Severus Pertinax Aug. (A.D. 195). Nearly complete. 6 lines. 5.5 × 5.5 cm." A shorter version of this *descriptum* is found at *P.Cair.Cat.* 10839, p. 106.⁵¹ The text, which consists of six lines of writing, is a *penthemeros*

⁵¹ See also *BL* 5.29 and *BL* 6.37

certificate issued to someone whose name ends in -sisois (cf. the commentary to l. 5). The left margin is the only margin that is preserved completely, while the three others are either broken (the top and the bottom) or cut out (the bottom one). The left margin measures, in its widest area (at l. 5), 1.0 cm. The writing runs parallel to the fibers on the front, while the back bears no writing. The fragment suffers from three vertical cracks probably caused by folding in antiquity and refolding during the conservation process in modern times, which has been done in an unsatisfactory manner. To hold the fragments together the conservator used gummed stamp papers, which are clearly visible on the back of the fragment.

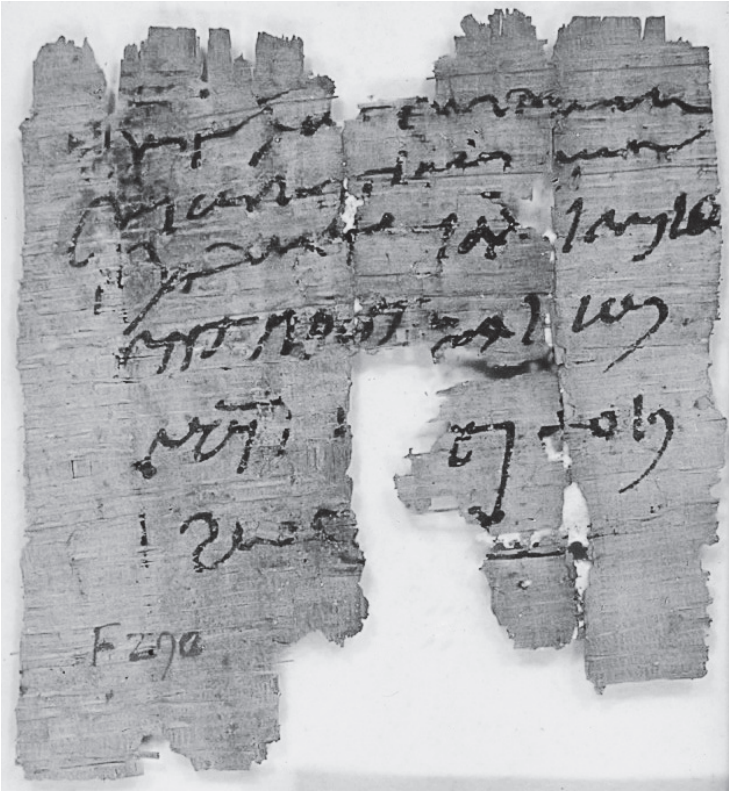
As in most certificates of this kind, it seems that there are two hands at work in this document. The first hand wrote the dating formula, which has been written so rapidly in the usual *Verschleifung* that its transcription is not very precise when it comes to details. The second hand, perhaps that of the surveyor of the work, wrote the date, the place where the work has been done, the name of the village on behalf of which the work has been done, and the name of the worker (cf. the quite identical *sigmas* at the end of ll. 4 and 5). The present certificate has the eight usual items of a *penthmeros* certificate issued after 114/115 (see the general introduction *supra*) except the *κατασπορεύς* signature which was either lacking as in many unsigned *penthmeros* certificates, or written in the lost part at the end of this fragment; cf. the general introduction about the unsigned *penthmeros* certificates.

Ἔτους γ Λου(κίου) Σεπτιμίου
 Σεουήρου Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ.
 εἰργ(ασται) ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικῶν) (m.2) Πάχ(ων) ιε ἕως ιθ
 ἐν τ(ῇ) πρωτ(ῇ) Χάλικος
 5 Εὐη(μερείας) . [1-2] . σισόις
 Ζωσί[μο]υ.

1 γ' pap. 3 ειργ, υπ, χω, παχ pap. 4 εντ, πρωτ pap. 5 ευη1 pap.

“The 3rd year of Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus. Has performed work on the dikes, (m. 2) from the 15th to 19th of Pachon in the navigable canal Chalik, on behalf of Euhemereia: ...sisois son of Zosimos.”

1 Λου(κίου): After the lacuna there is a faint trace which I take to be what is left from the abbreviation's or the extension's stroke.



3 Πάχ(ων) ιε ξως ιθ: In *BL* 5.29 the month and the days were read (reportedly checked on the original) as Πάχ(ων) ι ξως ιδ, but this is not what I saw on the original and on the image.

4 πρωτ(ῆ) (*l.* πλωτ(ῆ)) Χάλικος: This phenomenon of the interchange of liquids (λ, ρ) is found frequently in the Fayum, not only in the vicinity of another liquid, where assimilation (as in our document), dissimilation, or transposition is possible, but just as often in the absence of another liquid. Cf. πρήρος for πλήρος in *P.Mich.* 5.274-275.8-9 (Tebtynis, 46/47 or 47/48 CE) and πρηρούσας for πληρούσας in *CPR* 1.11.34 (Ptolemais Euergetis, October 9, 108 CE).⁵² The name of the canal here is problematic. The description in *P.Fay.*, p. 308 prints Χάλικος without

⁵² See F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* 1 (Milano 1976) 103.

dots, but the only clearly readable letters are ικος at line end. Χάλ is not impossible; only the upper right part of the *chi* is legible, the *alpha* is different from the one in the line immediately above it, while the *lambda* is not perfect. P.J. Sijpesteijn suggested that we should add διώρυγι after πλωτ(ῆ), i.e. ἐν τ(ῇ) πλωτ(ῇ διώρυγι) Χάλικος.⁵³ Χάλικος is the genitive of the 3rd declension common noun χάλιξ, which means *Kalk* or small stone or pebble.⁵⁴ A navigable canal of this name is not otherwise attested, but limestone rubble was observed on both banks of Canal I, as well as other canals, on the site of Philoteris. This canal, i.e. Canal I, judging from the remains, is the longest and the widest among the preserved water suppliers at this site. The canal widens considerably in places: where both banks are preserved the distance between their tops reaches 12 meters, according to C.E. Römer.⁵⁵ Whether this or another canal now hidden under cultivated land was the main supplier of water to Theadelphia, Euhemereia, and Dionysias remains an open question.⁵⁶ What is certain is that the main supplier most probably would have been navigable, πλωτή. The reference here might be to this canal.

5 . [1-2] . σισόις: In the description quoted above, Grenfell and Hunt read the name of the worker as Σισόις, but it can be noticed, even from the image, that there are traces of a letter before the lacuna as well as a spot of ink immediately after the lacuna. Therefore, the name of the worker is not Σισόις but a name that ends in -σισόις. The size of the lacuna and the remaining traces of the letters do not allow us to determine which one of these names would have stood there: Ἀρσισόις (the only attestation of this name is in col. 1.4 and col. 2.2 of *BGU* 16.2590 = *SB* 16.12312, Korphotoi, Heracleopolite nome, August 1, 25 BCE); Π[α]ῖσισόις (a rare name also, only attested in *SB* 6.9022, provenance unknown, third century CE); Ῥσισόις; Σ[ε]ῖσισόις; or Π[α]ῖσισόις.⁵⁷

6 Ζώσι[μο]υ: The last letter of the worker's patronymic is written over the end of the *iota* descending from the line above.

⁵³ cf. Sijpesteijn (n. 6) 67. The suggestion was reported in *BL* 5.29.

⁵⁴ *WB* and *LSJ* respectively.

⁵⁵ See C.E. Römer, in collaboration with D.M. Bailey, P. Brosch, C. Kirby, S. el-Muhammad, and D. Obbink, "Philoteris in the Themistou Meris: Report on the Archaeological Survey Carried out as Part of the Fayum Survey Project," *ZPE* 147 (2004) 293.

⁵⁶ See Römer (n. 55) 295.

⁵⁷ Cf. Preisigke, *NB* and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

MORE *PENTHEMEROS* CERTIFICATES FROM KARANIS

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Abstract. — Editions of six *penthemeros* certificates issued to men from the village of Karanis. They include the oldest record of the dike corvée from the village and an early attestation of the emperor Pescennius Niger. Appendices include a list of certificates from Karanis and formal observations on the corpus of later certificates.

These six certificates were issued to men from the village of Karanis, attesting to their performance of the annual dike corvée.¹ They were found clandestinely and sold through the antiquities market to Columbia, Michigan, and Yale between the early 1920s and 1935. Of particular interest are **1-2**, a double receipt issued to a pair of brothers that is the oldest record of the *penthemeros* from Karanis, and **6**, which provides the third earliest secure date for Pescennius Niger's recognition in Egypt and has allowed for some observations on the formal features of later *penthemeros* certificates (see Appendix 2). Following the editions is a list of all *penthemeros* certificates from Karanis known to me (Appendix 1).

¹ The key study remains P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates in Greco-Roman Egypt* (Leiden 1964). See also O.M. Pearl, "Ἐξάθροπος: Irrigation Works and Canals in the Arsinoite Nome," *Aegyptus* 31 (1951) 223-230; D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (Leiden 1993) 152-153 and 166-168; T. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung. Untersuchungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Ägyptens in der Zeit von Augustus bis Philippus Arabs* (20 v. Chr. - 245 n. Chr.) (München and Leipzig 2002) 306-319. A helpful discussion of the procedures behind first and early second *penthemeros* certificates can be found in P. Heilporn and A. Martin's introduction to *P.Pintaudi* 25-26. The most recently published certificates from Karanis are W.G. Claytor, "Penthemeros Certificates from the Granary C123, Karanis," *BASP* 50 (2013) 49-75. See the list in Appendix 1.

1-2

P.Col. inv. 133²
Acquired in 1924³

7.5 × 17.5 cm

Karanis
54/55 CE

The original dimensions of the sheet appear to be complete, although it is torn at the right with a slight loss of text. The back is blank. The sheet no doubt comes from a roll on which many receipts were written, cut out, and handed over to individual workers. Since the recipients in this case were members of the same family (see notes to ll. 5 and 13), their two receipts were not cut into individual documents as usual.⁴ The receipts are essentially identical, with the obvious exception of the workers' names. In the second receipt, however, the main scribe made a mistake in writing the dike's name, which he corrected by crossing out his error and writing the correct name above the line. The hand of this main scribe is a heavily ligatured cursive dominated by *Verschleifung*, with downward slanting lines, while the second scribe, who filled in the particulars, has a clear and proficient hand. The three officials who signed both documents write with surprisingly awkward and ill-formed capitals.

Col. 1

- ἔτους πρώτου Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος ἡργ(άσατο) ἐν τ(ῇ) (2nd hand) πλωτῇ διώ(ρυγι)
4 (1st hand) ἐφ' ἡ(μέρας) εἰς (ἐρ) χωματ(ικῶν) το(ῦ) α(ὐτοῦ) (ἔτους)
(2nd hand) Καρανίδ(ος)
5 Λιμναῖος Λιμναίου.
6 (3rd hand) Δῖος σεση(μείωμαι).
7 (4th hand) Δίδυμο(ς) γρ(αμματεὺς) βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως)
σεση(μείωμαι).
8 (5th hand) Πυρρίων σεση(μείωμαι).

² This papyrus was previously assigned to Uri Yiftach-Firanko, whom I thank for allowing me to include this text here. A digital image can be consulted here: <http://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p814> (accessed 30 Jan., 2017).

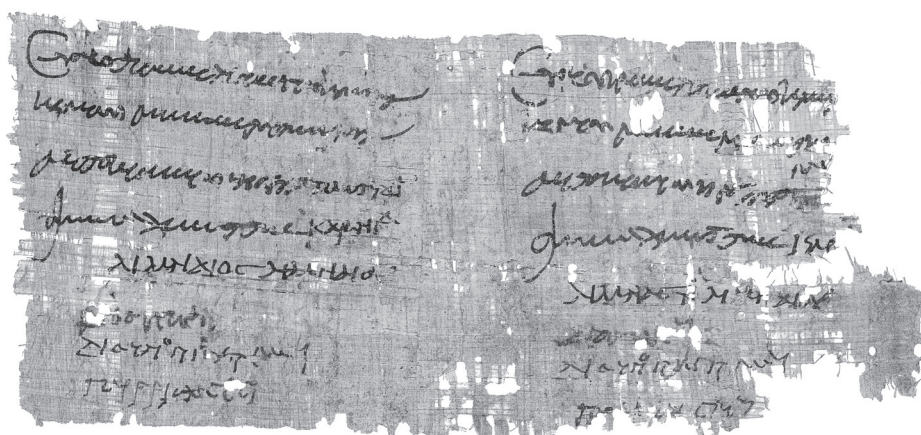
³ The Columbia APIS records states: "Purchased by Columbia University from M. Nahman through H.I. Bell, in 1924; no. III.101 in Bell's inventory."

⁴ Another example is *SB* 20.14968 (Philadelphieia, 68 CE), issued to a father and son. Other double receipts, however, such as *SB* 14.11892 (Karanis, 91/92 CE; nos. 5-6 in Appendix 1 below), were issued to men whose family connection (if any) is not obvious: see P.J. Sijpesteijn, "First-Century *Penthemeros* Certificates Again," *CdÉ* 53 (1978) 133-141 at 139, n. 3. There are also examples of matching certificates that were issued individually to family members on separate sheets, even though they eventually ended up in the same archive: see Appendix 1, nos. 14 and 15.

Col. 2

- (1st hand) ἔτους πρώτου Νέρωνος Κλαυδί[ου]
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Αὐτοκράτορος ἡργ(άσατο) ἐν τ(ῇ) (2nd hand) [[. . .]] ἄλ[ω]τ[η]/
 διώ(ρυγι)]
 12 (1st hand) ἐφ' ἡ(μέρας) ε ὑπ(έρ) χωματ(ικῶν) το(ῦ) α(ὐτοῦ) (ἔτους)
 (2nd hand) Καρ[α]ν[ί]δος]
 13 Λιμναῖς νε(ώτερος) Λιμναίου.
 14 (3rd hand) Δῖος σεση(μείωμαι).
 15 (4th hand) Δίδυμο(ς) γρ(αμματεὺς) βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως)
 σεση(μείωμαι).
 16 (5th hand) Πυρρίων σεση(μείωμαι).

1 ετους: υσ corr. 3, 11 ηρ' εν' pap., δι^ο pap. 4, 12 εφευλ 4 χωματ τ-L καρανι^δ pap.
 6, 14 σεσ^η pap. 7, 15 διδυμ^ο γρβ'αγρ σεσ^η pap. 12 χωματ τ-L καρ[α]ν[ί] pap. 13 νε pap.



“(Col. 1) In the first year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator. He worked on the shipping canal for the requisite five days of dike work for the same year, (2nd hand) on behalf of Karanis: Limnaios, son of Limnaios.

(3rd hand) I, Dios, have signed.

(4th hand) I, Didymos, secretary of the royal scribe, have signed.

(5th hand) I, Pyrrion, have signed.

(Col. 2, 1st hand) In the first year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator. He worked on the shipping canal for the requisite five days of dike work for the same year, (2nd hand) on behalf of Karanis: Limnas the younger, son of Limnaios.

(3rd hand) I, Dios, have signed.

(4th hand) I, Didymos, secretary of the royal scribe, have signed.

(5th hand) I, Pyrrion, have signed.”

3, 11 ἡργ(ά)σατο: The initial *eta* is written differently in the two examples. In the first, it is y-shaped and ligatured to the following *rho*, while in the second example it stands alone and takes on more of an h-shape. The aorist ἡργάσατο is the usual form of the verb in the first few decades of *penthemeros* certificates before the perfect εἰργασται establishes itself (first example: *PSI* 1.51, 63/64 CE).

– ἐν τ(ῇ) πλωτῇ διώ(ρυγι): For a list of attestations, see *P.Bagnall* 30.5n. This is the first receipt to link Karanis villagers to this canal.

4, 12 το(ῦ) α(ὐτοῦ) (ἔτους): Only the beginning *tau* and the L-shaped ἔτος sign are distinguishable, with one or two undulations in between, so any transcription is debatable. One could also read το(ῦ) α (ἔτους), “for the 1st year,” or even τοῦ αὐτοῦ α (ἔτους), “for the same 1st year,” assuming much *Verschleifung*. For the bare phrase τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους in early certificates without recapitulation of the exact year, cf. *P.Bon.* 31 (Tebtynis, 44-45 CE), *P.Lond.* 2.139b (p. 103; Soknopaiou Nesos, 51 CE), and *PSI* 15.1520 (Tebtynis, 53-54 CE).

5 Λιμναῖος Λιμναίου: The first three letters of the patronymic are written closely together, and the *lambda* has a long tail through which the following *iota* and *mu* were written, giving the superficial appearance of Αθαι-. The name Limnaios, son of Limnaios, is found in two first century Oslo papyri from Karanis acquired by the Anglo-American consortium in the previous year. *P.Oslo* 2.33 *recto* (6 Oct., 29 CE) contains a sublease of land made by Limnaios, son of Limnaios, who is a tenant of the estate of the Marcus Aponius (?) Satornilus (for discussion of the owner’s gentilicum, see F. Mitthof, *Korr.Tyche* 435). At the bottom of this papyrus is a dating formula from five years later, which is picked up on the back of the papyrus in an incomplete draft of a loan made on 12 Oct., 34 CE (verso, ll. 2-7). Below this is a draft opening of a letter, Λιμναῖος Λιμναίου (l. Λιμναίω) τῷ πατρὶ πλεῖστα χαίρειν (ll. 8-9), followed by another incomplete draft of a contract. The other text, *P.Oslo* 2.21 (29 Sept., 71 CE), is a petition to a centurion from a Limnaios, son of Limnaios, described as the steward (ἐπίτροπος) of the secretary of the imperial estate of Doryphoros. It seems likely that our Limnaios and “Limnas the younger” (see l. 13n.) are related to the homonyms in the Oslo texts, although it difficult to decide who is who. Limnaios, an epithet of Dionysus (Phanodemos F12), is a good

Macedonian name⁵ found with some frequency in Egypt from the Ptolemaic to Roman period, dying out in the third or fourth century.⁶ The name was popular in Roman Karanis (10 individuals are indexed in the Karanis Tax Rolls: *P.Mich.* 4.2), which perhaps reflects a thread of cultural continuity from the village's Macedonian settlement in the third century BCE (the name was already popular in nearby Philadelphiea at the beginning of Ptolemaic rule; cf. W. Clarysse, *Korr.Tyche* 823 on the survival of the name Stratippos in Roman Philadelphiea). The name Limnaios may also have had special significance for inhabitants of the Fayum, as an anonymous reader reminds me, since the region was called ἡ Λίμνη (translating Egyptian *P3-ym*, “the lake,” TM Geo 1255) by Herodotus and the early Ptolemaic settlers before being officially renamed the Arsinoite nome after Arsinoe II.

6-8,14-16 Multiple signers are found in *penthemeros* certificates before the reforms under Trajan. See most recently *P.Pintaudi* 25-26, pp. 125-126 with further references. Of these three officials, only Didymos may be otherwise unattested (see ll. 7, 15nn.).

6, 14 Δῖος σεση(μείωμαι): Both examples of this signature are written in a much lighter ink than the surrounding text. The letter forms are extremely crude. In comparing the two, *delta* seems preferable for the first letter, although the second example is flattened in a way that looks more like *alpha*. The first example is written over a previous attempt, which might be a *delta* turned on its side. There follows a vertical with a ligature into a rounded letter (again more flattened in the second example), which can be read as *io*. The final letter before σεση(μείωμαι) is apparently *sigma*, written in the first example almost like a modern printed σ. By comparison with σεση(μείωμαι), it seems that after the first downward, curving stroke of *sigma* the writer kept his pen on the papyrus instead of lifting it to proceed to the second, horizontal stroke.

7, 15 Δίδυμο(ς) γρ(αμματεὺς) βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως) σεση(μείωμαι): The third letter of the name in both examples has the appearance of *epsilon* at first glance but is better read as a *delta* with a curved final stroke. The dotted *mu* in the first example looks more like a *lambda-iota* ligature (less so in the second example) but can be seen as flattened in

⁵ M. Katzopoulos, “‘L’histoire par les noms’ in Macedonia,” in S. Hornblower and E. Matthews (eds.), *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence* (Oxford 2000) 99-117 at 102 and 113.

⁶ TM Nam 3873. The last precisely dated occurrence is *P.Oslo* 2.25 (Karanis, 217), but cf. *O.Mich.* 1.482 (Karanis, 301; the name is difficult to verify on the photo) and *O.Stras.* 1.464 (IV-V CE). That the name does not occur in the fourth century archives from Karanis is an indication of its diminished popularity.

a way that somewhat resembles *mu* in the early Ptolemaic period. This transcription is certainly generous to the scribe, as a reader points out; the scrawl that follows, even if it can be deciphered, makes it clear the he had little control of the pen. Before σεση(μείωμαι), a final γρ is relatively clear, particularly in the second example, and γρ can likewise be made out before the name. We are clearly dealing with a title, and two parallels suggest reading γρ(αμματεὺς) βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως): *P.Gen.* 2.92 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 51/52 CE) and *SB* 6.9560 (Theadelphia, 52/53 CE); for the heavily abbreviated βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως, cf. the contemporary title ἀντιγραφεὺς χωμάτων βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως as written in *PSI* 15.1520.8 (53/54 CE), *P.Mich.* 12.654.9, and 655.7 (both 57/58 CE). One of the parallels for the title γρ(αμματεὺς) βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως), *SB* 6.9560, is also signed by a Didymos for work on the πλωτὴ διῶρυξ just two years earlier; though far more competent than the present example, the hand has a similar ductus. If both were somehow written by the same scribe, his handwriting deteriorated terribly in the intervening two years. On the role of the royal scribe's secretary and other officials in early *penthemeros* certificates, see Kruse (n .1) 306-309; on the γραμματεὺς βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως more generally, *ibid.*, 774-775.

13 Λιμνᾶς νε(ώτερος) Λιμναίου: Limnas the younger is presumably the younger brother of the worker in the previous receipt, differentiated both through the hypocoristic form of his name and νεώτερος. This hypocoristic of Λιμναῖος is an *addendum onomasticis*. Cf. *P.Ryl.* 4.601 (Karanis, 26 BCE), a contract in which Λιμναῖος Πτολεμαίου (l. 4) is called Λιμνίων Πτολεμαίου in the subscription (l. 19).

3

P.CtYBR inv. 969⁷
Acquired in 1931⁸

8.5 × 9.5 cm

Karanis
93/94 CE

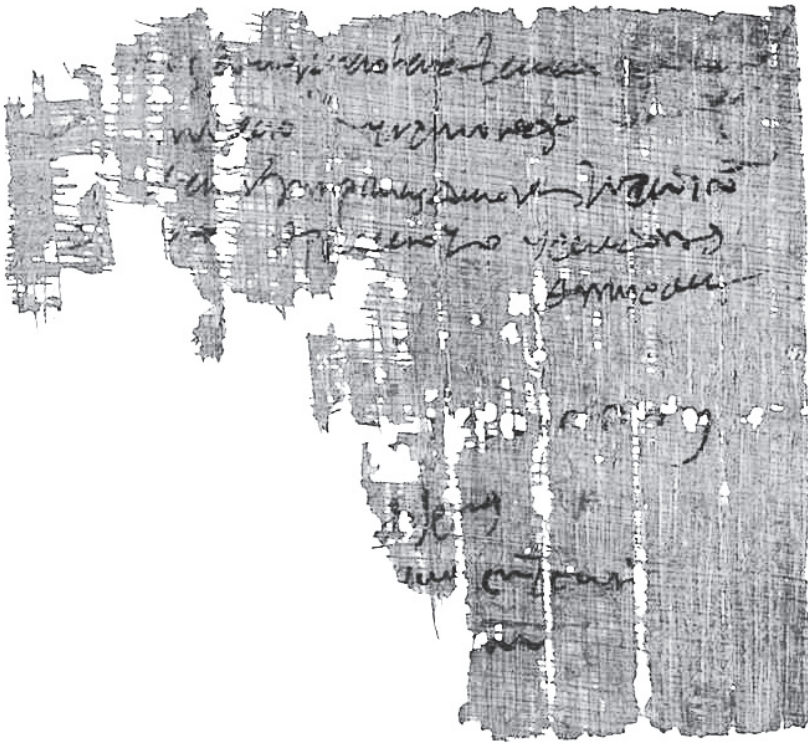
The original dimensions are complete, but the papyrus is broken at the left and bottom. It was folded eight times vertically and once horizontally. The back is blank.

⁷ Digital images can be consulted here: <http://findit.library.yale.edu/catalog/dig-coll:2758010> (accessed 30 Jan., 2017).

⁸ "Purchased by Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff and Charles Bradford Welles in Egypt, 1931 before 10 February ... from an unspecified dealer in the Faiyum" (online catalogue of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library: <http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/research/library-catalogs-databases/guide-yale-papyrus-collection#Acquisition>, accessed 30 Jan., 2017). This acquisition includes P.CtYBR inv. 914-919, 921-929, 931, 933-950, 953-957, 959-962, and 964-971.

- [ἔτους] τρεῖσκαιδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ
 Σεβαστοῦ
 [Γερμ]ανικοῦ εἶρ(γασται) ἐν τῇ Ἀργαίτιδο(ς) διώ(ρυγι) ἔφ' ἡμ(έρας)
 ε ὑπ(έρ)
 [χω(ματικῶν)] τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρεῖσκαιδεκάτου (ἔτους) (2nd hand)
 Καρτανίδο(ς)
 4 Σ[ωτή]ρ[ι]χο(ς) Ἀρνώτου το(ῦ) Ἡρώδου μη(τρὸς)
 5 Θενηρακ(λείας)
 (3rd hand) [] . . ος σεση(μείωμαι).
 (4th hand) Ἀφρο(δ) σεση(μείωμαι).
 8 (5th hand) [] . ίων σεση(μείωμαι) Σωτή(ριχον).
 (6th hand) [δ δεῖνα] σεση(μείωμαι).

2 ἀργαίτιδ^ο, δι^ο pap. 3 καρτανίδο^ο pap.: ρ corr. 4 τ^ο, —) pap. 5 θενηρα^κ pap.
 8 σεσ^ο, σωτ^ο pap.



“In the thirteenth [year] of Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus. He has worked on the canal of Argaitis for the requisite five days of [dike work] for the same thirteenth year, (2nd hand) on behalf of Karanis: Soterichos, son of Haryotes, grandson of Herodes, whose mother is Thenherakleia.

(3rd hand) [I, - - -]os, have signed.

(4th hand) I, Aphrod(), have signed.

(5th hand) [I, - - -]ion, have signed in respect to Soterichos.

(6th hand) [I, - - -], have signed.”

2 Ἀργαίτιδος(ς): Again at 5.5. On this canal, see O.M. Pearl, “Ἀργαίτις and Μοήρις,” *Aegyptus* 34 (1954) 27-34 and TM Geo 297.

5 Θενηρακ(λείας): This is the first occurrence of this rare name in connection with Karanis; most attestations stem from Tebtynis (TM Nam 12033).

6-9 On multiple signers in early *penthemeros* certificates see above 1-2.6-8n.

7 Ἀφρο(δ) σεση(μείωμαι): Perhaps the same official as in *P.Pintaudi* 25 and 26 (Narmouthis, 98/99 CE); further contemporary attestations of an official of this name can be found at *P.Pintaudi* 25-26, p. 127.

8 Possibly [Ω]ρίων, also found signing *P.Pintaudi* 26.

4

P.Mich. inv. 6819a
Acquired in 1935⁹

4 × 6.5 cm

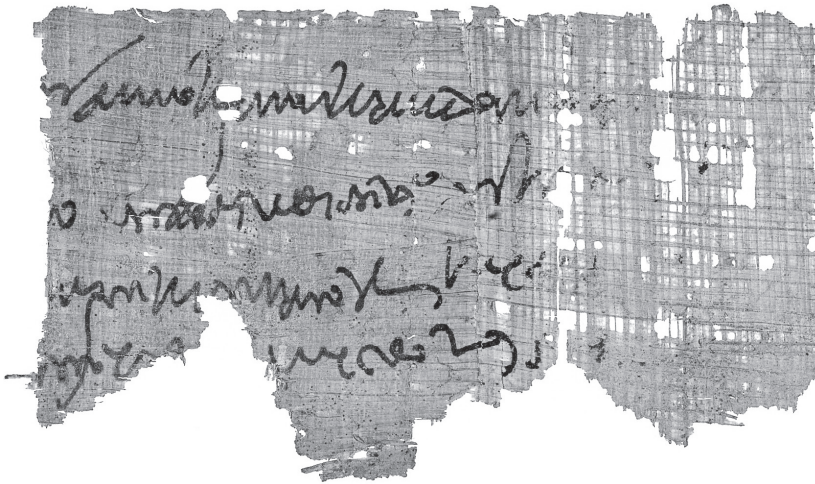
Karanis
94/95 CE

The papyrus is torn along a fold line on the left with loss of about a third of the text; missing also is the area below the receipt where we would expect signatures. Abrasion affects the ends of lines. Hand changes, if any, are difficult to detect. The back is blank.

⁹ From a box of “miscellaneous small fragments” belonging to the group P.Mich. inv. 6808-6827, which was acquired through Enoch Peterson and reached the university on December 14, 1935. Many documents from this group are connected with Karanis.

[ἔτους τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτ]ου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιαν[οῦ]
 [Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ εἵρ(γασται)] ἐν τῇ Ἐπαγαθιανῇ διώ(ρυγι)
 ἐφ' ἡμ(έρας) ε ὑπ(έρ)
 [χω(ματικῶν) το(ῦ) αὐτο(ῦ) τεσ]σαρεσκαίδεκάτου (ἔτους) Καρανί[δο]ς
 4 [ὁ δεῖνα] . . ουθ[. () το(ῦ)] Μύσθου μη(τρὸς) . [.] . []

2 δι^ο εφημερ) pap. 4 -) pap.



“[In the fourteenth year] of Emperor Caesar Domitianus [Augustus Germanicus. He has worked] on the Epagathian canal for the requisite five days of [dike work for the same] fourteenth year, on behalf of Karanis: [NN,] son of NN, grandson of Mysthes, whose mother is NN ...”

2 Ἐπαγαθιανῇ διώ(ρυγι): Only two other texts in Appendix 1 below (nos. 24 and 34) pertain to this canal, but it figures heavily in the ledger fragments cited in the introduction to Appendix 1, as well as in certificates from Soknopaiou Nesos. Pearl (n. 1) 227 places it between Karanis and Soknopaiou Nesos. On the formation of the adjective from the name Epagathos, see G.M. Parassoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt* (Amsterdam 1978) 12-13.

– ἐφ' ἡμ(έρας) ε ὑπ(έρ): Written in a similar fashion to no. 3 in Appendix 1 below.

5

P.Mich. inv. 2409
Acquired in 1924

8 × 4 cm

Karanis
19 June, 140 CE

The original height of the document is preserved, but it is broken along folds on the left and right. There is a small trace of ink at the top left corner of the fragment. The back has a few traces of stray ink and a patch of paler papyrus attached to it. With the exception of the worker's identification, the lost portions of text can be supplemented without issue.

- [ἔτους τρίτ]ου Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αίσαρος]
[Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀ]δριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σε[βαστοῦ]
[Εὐσεβ]οῦς εἴργ(ασται) ὑπὲρ χωμ(ατικῶν) [ἔργων]
4 [τοῦ αὐτο]ῦ γ (ἔτους) Παῦνι κα[ῖ] [ἔως κε]
[ἐν τῇ] Ἀργαίτι(δος) διώ(ρυγι) Καρ(ανίδος)
[ὁ δεῖνα] . εννε() το(ῦ) Ἀρπαγ[άθου]
[μη(τρὸς) τῆς δεῖνα.]
8 [Μ]αρίων σεση(μείωμαι).

3 εἰργυπερχωμ pap. 5 ἀργαίτιδιωκαρῖ pap. 6] . ενν^ε τ^ο pap. 8 σεση pap.

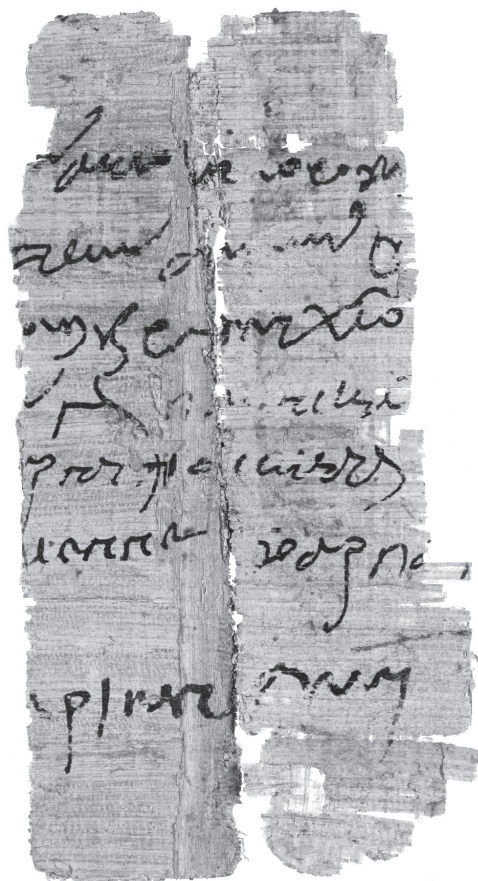
“[In the third year] of Imperator [Caesar Titus Aelius] Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius. He has performed the requisite dike [work for the same] 3rd year from Pauni 21 [to 25 (= June 15-19) on the] canal of Argaitis, on behalf of Karanis: [- - -], son of ...enne(), grandson of Harpagathes, [whose mother is - - -].

I, Marion, have signed.”

5 Ἀργαίτι(δος): Cf. above 3.2.

6 [...] . εννε(): An anonymous reader suggests]βεννε(), which looks preferable to]μεννε. If so, the name [Θεα]βέννε(ως) is inevitable. Otherwise, one might think of [Α]μεννέ(ως), not yet attested in relation to Karanis but common enough in the Fayum, or Μεννέ(ου) from the rare name Μεννέας.

8 Marion also signs *P.Got.* 1 (Karanis, 140 CE), which was issued two weeks prior to the present receipt for work on the same Argaitis canal. The fragmentary *SB* 18.13976 (Tebtynis) is also signed by this official and can therefore be dated to ca. 140.



6

P.Mich. case 20, no. 115
Acquired in the early 1920s¹⁰

4.1 × 7.7 cm

Karanis
June 7, 193 CE

The papyrus is well preserved, and the few breaks do not impede comprehension of the text. It is written in one hand, although the year date at the beginning is much lighter; the scribe was likely running out of ink

¹⁰ This document was found in a metal box (case 20) containing papyri that have not been catalogued, and no precise information on their acquisition has been found in the collection. The fragments are stored in papers dating to 1925, which is probably when a preliminary inventory was made and temporary numbers assigned. The present document was labeled "receipt, complete, datable" by J(ohn) G. W(inter) and given the number 115.

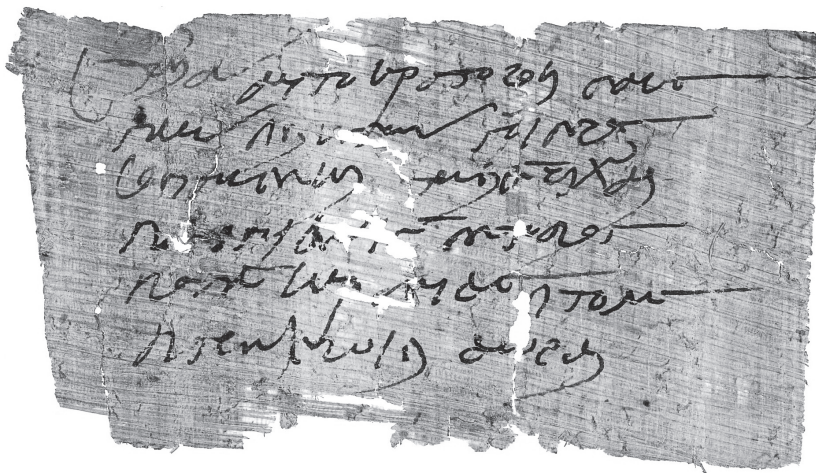
from writing a previous receipt and then redipped his pen after beginning this document. Unexpected spaces interrupt the words Καίσαρος (l. 1), Σεβαστοῦ (l. 3), and Ἰσιδώρας (l. 6). The back is blank.

The text dates to the earliest period of Pescennius Niger's recognition in Egypt; assuming the receipt was written directly after completion of the work on June 7, only *P.Gron.* 1 (*BL* 7.63; May 30, 193) and *P.CtYBR inv.* 1388 (ed. N. Gonis, *APF* 61 [2015] 331; June 5) are certainly earlier.¹¹

The worker's short-form identification, here by name, patronymic, and metronymic (no papponymic), and the document's lack of a signature are both features of later *penthemeros* certificates: see Appendix 2.

ἔτους α/ Αὐτοκράτορο(ς) Καίσαρος
Γαίου Πεσκεννίου Νίγερως
Ἰούστου Σεβαστοῦ εἴργ(ασται) ὑπ(ὲρ) χω(ματικῶν) α (ἔτους)
Παῦνι θ ξω(ς) ιγ̄ ἐν τῷ Ποι(μενικῷ)
5 Ποτα(μῷ) Καρανίδος Πτολᾶς
Πνεφερῶ(τος) Ἰσιδώρας

3 ειργ̄ υ) χω pap. 4 εῶ, ποι pap. 5 ποτᾶ pap. 6 πνεφερῶ pap.



¹¹ Cf. C.A. Nelson, "Pescennius Niger: A Third Year?" *ZPE* 47 (1982) 265-274 at 267 for a list of attestations. *BGU* 15.2514 more likely dates to 175/176: *BL* 9.36.

“In the 1st year of Imperator Caesar Gaius Pescennius Niger Iustus Augustus. He has performed the requisite dike work for the 1st year from Pauni 9 to 13 (= June 3-7) on the Shepherd’s canal, on behalf of Karanis: Ptolas, son of Pnepheros, (whose mother is) Isidora.”

4-5 Ποι(μενικῶ) | Ποτα(μῶ): The fourth published attestation of this canal, found elsewhere in *P.Ryl.* 2.81 (letter from an αἰγιαλοφύλαξ to the *strategos* of the Themistos division, 107 CE), the *penthemeros* certificate *SB* 6.9437b (Karanis, 146 CE; no. 28 in Appendix 1), and *BGU* 2.621 (*sitologos* receipt, ca. 175/176 CE). Placed near Karanis by the editors of *P.Ryl.* 2.81 (1-2 n.) on the basis of *BGU* 2.621, in which the *sitologoi* of Karanis provide grain to four waterguards of this canal, Pearl instead argued, “since the order proceeded from the *strategos* and the royal scribe, the contribution made by Karanis may easily be part of a general levy and other villages may also have contributed their quota” (O.M. Pearl, “Short Texts from Karanis,” *Aegyptus* 33 [1953] 3-29 at 26). The unpublished *P.Mich.* inv. 6764 (183 or 215 CE) lists workers assigned to this canal from the village of Narmouthis in the Polemon *meris*. Given the association of the canal with all three *merides* of the Arsinoite nome, it is best to reserve judgment on its precise location.

5-6 Πτολᾶς | Πνεφερῶ(τος) Ἰσιδώρας: The end of Πτολᾶς is so quickly written that the more usual Πτολλᾶς cannot be ruled out. The worker is identified only by name, father’s name, and mother’s name, the last of which is not marked by the quick writing of μη(τρός) as –) (so too in nos. 36, 39, and 40 in Appendix 1). Since a number of later certificates appear to simply drop μητρός, it is not necessary to assume a mistake and print <μη(τρός)>.

Appendix 1: Penthemeros Certificates on Papyrus from Karanis

The certificates edited in Claytor (n. 1) will be republished in a future volume of Michigan papyri along with a few additions. Some new readings are reflected in the table below without further notice. Not included in the list below are *P.Cair.Mich.* 2.12e (= *P.Mich.* 6.380), *P.Mich.* 6.381, and *SB* 6.9496, which are not receipts but ledgers (or parts of a single ledger) of work done on the embankments (for which receipts obviously would have been issued: their information is collected at Sijpesteijn [n. 1] 31 and *P.Mich.* 6.381, p. 55). Also excluded are the numerous third century ostrakon receipts, listed at Sijpesteijn (n. 1) 31-32. Only corrections not printed in the *BL* have been cited below.

Nos. 4, 9, 10, 14, 15, 19, 20, and 24 belong to the archive of the family of Satabous (TM Arch 407). The names of these workers are starred rather than provided with full filiation.

Nos. 27-29 belong to the small archive of Pnepheros, son of Petheus (TM Arch 544) found in a box during the Michigan excavations.

Nos. 31 and 38 belong to the archive of Sokrates the tax collector (TM Arch 109).

No.	Text	Date (CE)	Canal	Worker	Signature(s)
1	1	54/55	shipping canal (πλωτή διῶρυξ)	Limnaios, s. Limnaios	Dios Didymos (secretary of the royal scribe) Pyrrion
2	2	54/55	shipping canal (πλωτή διῶρυξ)	Limnas the younger, s. Limnaios	Dios Didymos (secretary of the royal scribe) Pyrrion
3	Claytor (n. 1) text 1	87/88	Pseinalitis (?)	Herakles (or –as), s. Psenobastis, gs. Papos, m. Segathis	Not signed
4	Claytor (n. 1) text 2	90/91	Argaitis (?)	Pnepheros*	Hephaist() E . . ch(?)
5	SB 14.11892, col. 1	91/92 ¹²	Psennothris	Petheus the younger, s. Petheus, gs. Kollouthos (?), m. Apollonarion	Dionysios Hephaistion Sarapion
6	SB 14.11892, col. 2	91/92	Psennothris	Keras, s. Sambathion, gs. Pnepheros, m. Tapynchis	Dionysios Hephaistion Sarapion
7	3	93/94	Argaitis (?)	Soterichos, s. Haryotes, gs. Herodes, m. Thenherakleia	...os Aphrod() ...ion NN

¹² *P.Pintaudi* 25-26, p. 127, n. 15 corrects the date from 90/91 in the *ed. pr.*

No.	Text	Date (CE)	Canal	Worker	Signature(s)
8	4	94/95	Epagathiane	NN, s. NN, gs. Mysthes, m. NN	Lost
9	Claytor (n. 1) text 3	96/97	Psennothris	Satabous*	Horion Ptolemaios Sarap()
10	P.Mich. inv. 5774e (forthcoming)	96/97	Psennothris (?)	Pnepheros*	Horion Ptolemaios Sarap()
11	SB 16.12299	101/102	Kaine Hexathyros	Isis, d. Onnothris, gd. Satabous, m. Sopas	Herakleides Mysthes E . . ch(?) ¹³
12	SB 6.9231a (inv. 5307)	16 June, 106	Kaine Hexathyros	Ptollis, s. Pamenes, gs. Tithoes, m. Tanephremmis	Isidoros
13	P.Wisc. 2.79	27 June, 108	Kaine Hexathyros	Krates, s. Sokrates, gs. Mysthes, m. Thaisis	Isidoros
14	Claytor (n. 1) text 4	18 June, 115	Kaine Hexathyros	Pnepheros*	Herak()
15	Claytor (n. 1) text 5	18 June, 115	Kaine Hexathyros	Psenobastis* (brother of previous)	Herak()
16	SB 6.9231b (inv. 2912)	14 July, 115	[- - -] Hexathyros	[NN], s. Pakysis, gs. Petaus, m. Tkethis ¹⁴	[- - -]
17	SB 8.9924a	19 Aug., 115 ¹⁵	Desert Canal of Patsontis	Anchorimphis, s. Iemouthes, gs. Petheus, m. Soeris	Kraton
18	P.Mich. inv. 5855i (forthcoming)	28 Oct. - 26 Nov., 120 (?)	[- - -]	NN, s. NN, gs. Pasoknopaiois (?), m. Tnepheros	[- - -]
19	Claytor (n. 1) text 6	7 Nov., 128	Desert Canal of Patsontis	NN., s. Pnepheros, gs. Satabous (?), m. NN	Sarap()

¹³ Claytor 2013 (n. 1) 58.

¹⁴ The reading of the papponymic and metronymic are due to Paul Heilporn's corrections, recorded in Michigan APIS (see <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;6;9231>).

No.	Text	Date (CE)	Canal	Worker	Signature(s)
20	Claytor (n. 1) text 7	6 Sep., 129	Desert Canal of Patsontis	Pnepheros* on behalf of Anchopis, s. Kames, gs. Pasoknopaïos, m. Tnepheros	Zoil()
21	Claytor (n. 1) text 8	ca. 129- 131	Desert Canal of [- - -]	Kames, s. Pasoknopaïos (?), gs. Satabous, m. Aphrod	Zoil()
22	<i>P.Sijp.</i> 42a	19 Dec., 130	Desert Canal of Patsontis	Petheus, s. Pasoknopaïos, gs. Pasoknopaïos, m. Tepheros	Dios
23	Claytor (n. 1) text 9	4 Apr., 131 (?)	Desert Canal of [- - -]	Kames, s. Pasoknopaïos, gs. Satabous, m. Aphrod	Ptolemaïos
24	Claytor (n. 1) text 10	19 Oct., 131	Epagathiane	Pnepheros*	Deios aka Souch()
25	<i>P.Got.</i> 1	4 June, 140	Argaitis	Ptolemaïos, s. Herakl[- - -], gs. Petheus, m. Thermouth()	Marion
26	5	19 June, 140	Argaitis	NN, s. [- -]menn(), gs. Harpagathes, m. NN	Marion
27	<i>SB</i> 6.9437a	20 Dec., 144	Desert Canal of Patsontis	Pnepheros, s. Petheus, gs. Petesouchos, m. Thaisas	Keler
28	<i>SB</i> 6.9437b	26 July, 146	Poimenikos Potamos	Pnepheros, s. Petheus, gs. Petesouchos, m. Thaesis (= Thaisas of prev.)	Heron
29	<i>SB</i> 6.9437c	146/147	Desert Canal of Patsontis	NN, s. Petheus, gs. Petesouchos, m. Thaisas (i.e. worker of nos. 27 and 28 or brother)	Epinikias

No.	Text	Date (CE)	Canal	Worker	Signature(s)
30	<i>BGU</i> 3.875	27 July, 146	Boubastos	Herodes, s. Petheus, gs. Herodes, m. Serap()	Longinus
31	<i>SB</i> 6.9263	7 June, 152	Argaitis	Sokrates s. Sarapion on behalf of Sisois s. Maximus, m. Tapasion	Ptolemaios
32	<i>SB</i> 16.12319	6 Aug., 152	Souchianos	Ptolemaios s. Phanomgeus gs. Phanomgeus m. Tapheros	Serapion <i>katasporeus</i>
33	<i>P.Mich. inv.</i> 6290 (unpublished) ¹⁶	154/155	[- - -]	NN	NN (one signature)
34	<i>P.Mich.</i> 6.418	19 Nov., 157	Epagathiane	Syrion s. Isidoros gs. Pesouris m. Teraus	Not signed
35	<i>P.Cair.Goodsp.</i> 25	13 Sept., 161	Desert Canal of Patsontis	Pnepheros s. Petheus gs. Pnepheros m. Tapetheus	Not signed
36	<i>BGU</i> 3.722	24 Nov., 161	Desert Canal of Patsontis	Ptolemaios, s. Marres on behalf of Papeis, s. Phanomgeus, m. Thases	Not signed
37	<i>P.Heid.</i> 4.319	7 Aug., 162	[- - -]	Protarchos, s. [Leonides], gs. [Anchophis], m. Herais ¹⁷	Bottom not preserved
38	<i>P.Mich.</i> 6.419	21 Aug., 162	Desert Canal of Patsontis	Sokrates s. Sarapion, receiver of Ptolemais (?) ¹⁸	Not signed

¹⁵ For the date and corrections to ll. 4-6, see D. Hagedorn, "Bemerkungen zu Urkunden," ZPE 183 (2012) 185-190 at 185-186. Cf. Claytor 2013 (n. 1) 62.

¹⁶ This papyrus was excavated by the University of Michigan (locus 32-235*-R11) and is now in Cairo. A photo is kept in the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.

¹⁷ Only Protarchos and his mother's name Herais are preserved on the papyrus; the editors (ll. 6-7n.) connect him to a figure well attested in the Karanis Tax Rolls; if so, we should also supply his grandfather's name in the lacuna in l. 7, e.g.: [Λεωνίδου τοῦ Ἀγχώ(φεως)].

¹⁸ Σωκρά(της) ἰ Σαραπίων(ος) τοῦ ἐκλ(ήμπτορος) Πτολ(εμδαίδος) *Korr.Tyche* 584 (K. Geens and W. Clarysse): Σωκρά(της) ἰ Σαραπίων(ος) τοῦ Ῥεμλ() Πτολ() *ed. princ.*

No.	Text	Date (CE)	Canal	Worker	Signature(s)
39	<i>BGU</i> 3.879	11 Aug., 164	Psenno-phris ¹⁹	Ptolemaios s. Onnophris gs. Pakysis m. Tkateit	Not signed
40	<i>BGU</i> 15.2519	1 Nov. 164 (?)	Desert Canal of Patsontis	Phanomgeus s. Pasoknopaivos gs. Phanomgeus m. Tasokis	Heraklides
41	<i>SB</i> 22.15864	2 Sep., 168	Desert Canal of Patsontis (?)	Pe[-], s. Kastor, gs. NN, m. Ammo()	Not signed
42	6	7 June, 193	Poimenikos Potamos	Ptolas, s. Pnepheros, m. Isidora	Not signed
43	<i>P.Mich.</i> 6.420	14 Apr., 206	Pseinalitis (?) ²⁰	Ptol[-], s. NN, m. (?) Sarap()	Not signed

Appendix 2: P.Louvre 1.31 and the Corpus of Later Penthemeros Certificates

The *penthemeros* certificate printed as document **6** (Karanis, 193 CE) above does not bear an official's signature, a feature that has usually led editors to suspect that the document was never handed over to the worker.²¹ When the corpus of certificates is analyzed diachronically, however, it can be seen that the Karanis receipt is in keeping with most *penthemeros* certificates after the 160s CE. Among the Karanis certificates collected in Appendix 1 above, nearly every document through 154/155 CE whose bottom portion is preserved bears at least one signature; thereafter, only one is signed (dated to 164) and eight are not. We find the same pattern in Teb-tynis: the latest signed certificates I have found date to 163 CE (*SB* 18.13989

This would be an unusual reference in a *penthemeros* certificate, but it is palaeographically attractive (the omission of μηρός would not be problematic, on the other hand: see above 6.5-6n.). This papyrus and no. 32 were both found in house B17, the source of many papers belonging to the tax collector Sokrates: see now *P.Cair.Mich.* 2.

¹⁹ Cf. Claytor 2013 (n. 1) 60.

²⁰ Based on autopsy of this papyrus, I would suggest reading ΨεΙ() for ΨεΙ(ναλί-τιδος), the same abbreviation found in *P.Brookl.* 11 (pl. VIII) and *P.Alex.* 17 (not seen). Cf. *P.Brookl.* 11.5 n.

²¹ E.g. "The lack of a *katasporeus*' signature may indicate that the receipt was never used" (T.M. Hickey, "A Penthemeros Certificate from the Reign of Caracalla [P.Lund inv. 12]," *ZPE* 178 [2011] 240-242 at 241). For other interpretations see *P.Brookl.*, p. 20.

and *PSI* 15.1528),²² whereas all 16 certificates after this date do not bear signatures.²³ Looking at the whole corpus of *penthemeros* certificates, the latest that certainly bears a signature appears to be *P.Grenf.* 2.53d (Bakchias, 167 CE).

One major exception to this pattern would seem to be *P.Louvre* 1.31 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 185),²⁴ the longest roll of *penthemeros* certificates, which since the edition in *Pap.Flor.* 19²⁵ has been known for striking irregularities that supposedly kept it from being cut up and distributed to the individual workers (hence its title “Fehlerhafte Penthemeros-Quittungen” in *P.Louvre*). One of these supposed errors was the anonymous writing of σεση(μείωμαι) before the worker’s name. On inspection of the plate, however, this short scrawl can instead be read as εη and resolved as (πεν-θ)ή(μερον) or ε ή(μέρας).²⁶ Good parallels for the writing and position of

²² Between 150-163 CE, we find three unsigned certificates (*P.Mil.Vogl.* 2.109 [152], *SB* 10.10543 [159], and *SB* 10.10544 [164]) against eight signed certificates: *P.Kron.* 68 (150), *P.Kron.* 69 (153), *SB* 18.13987 (153), *SB* 18.13988 (157), *P.Fouad* 61 (157), *SB* 10.10542 (158), and the two cited from the year 163.

²³ *SB* 10.10545 (166), *SB* 10.10546 (170), *SB* 10.10547 (171), *SB* 10.10548 (171), *SB* 18.13990 (178), *SB* 18.13991 (178), *SB* 18.13992 (178), *SB* 16.12390 (191), *SB* 12.11010 (192; see below), *P.Schøyen* 2.28 (195), *SB* 8.9924d (195), *SB* 18.13993 (201), *SB* 10.10550 (209), *SB* 10.10549 (211), *P.Lund inv.* 12 (212, Hickey [n. 21]), *P.Tebt.* 2.371 + *SB* 14.11485 (213), *P.Fouad* 62 (221; see J.D. Thomas, “The Date of P. Fouad 62,” *ZPE* 151 [2005] 144). In the reedition of *P.Fouad* 63 (= *SB* 12.11010, 192 CE), the editor reads Πίων σεση(μείωμαι) with much hesitation, noting that this reading leaves the worker identified by only one name (Πρώτα() in the previous line) and that σεση(μείωμαι) is difficult to see. Given the pattern of late certificates not bearing signatures, I would seek a patronymic here instead. The fourth letter looks more like an *eta* than a *nu*, but I do not find any satisfactory readings with this approach. I wonder if reading Πίωνος is possible if what appears between *nu* and *sigma* is in fact mostly shadow rather than ink (or Ἀπίωνος with *alpha* almost wholly abraded, a possibility that the editor considers).

²⁴ Among other apparent exceptions, *SB* 12.11010 is discussed in the previous note, while in *P.Sijp.* 42c and d (Tebtynis, 174), instead of σε(σημείωμαι) in an anomalous position, I would suggest reading μη(τρός) after the papyronymic and before the metronymic, printed as Θαμῶς in c and Ταμῶς in d. See now U. Gad, *Korr.Tyche* 826, who likewise reads μη(τρός) and offers new readings of the metronymics. In *P.Aberd.* 36d.5-6 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 196) the editor prints Σοκνοπ(αίου) Ἐ[ριεύς(?) ...] | Σώτας Στοτοσή[τος σεση(μείωμαι)]. There is no image available to consult, but one wonders if the *epsilon* of Ἐ[ριεύς(?) (the name is given *exempli gratia*) can somehow be read as a *nu* for Ν[ήσ(ου)]. In any case, this cannot be taken as a certain example of a signed certificate.

²⁵ W. Brashear, “Paris-Berlin Papyri,” *Pap.Flor.* 19, pp. 117-122.

²⁶ This understanding of the abbreviation was first proposed, as far I can see, by U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 3 (1906) 123 (= *BL* 1.189 on *P.Grenf.* 2.53g.4: ε . . . () (πενθήμερον)). Cf. F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie. Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (Leipzig 1917) 69, who prints the accusative πενθήμερον, which is preferable when compared with the elaborated phrase τὴν κελ(ευσθεῖσαν) πενθ(ήμερον) *vel sim.* (e.g., *BGU* 3.723.5). P.J. Sijpesteijn, “Some Remarks on the πενθήμερος-Corvée,” *ZPE* 64 (1986) 126, n. 7 prefers (πέντε) ή(μέρας), “since πενθήμερος is always accompanied by

this abbreviation are *P.Schøyen* 2.28 (Tebtynis, 195) and *P.Tebt.* 2.371 + *SB* 14.11485 (Tebtynis, 213), both of which are also uncut rolls of certificates. Both of these rolls also identify the workers by name and patronymic only²⁷ – the other supposedly erroneous feature of *P.Louvre* 1.31.²⁸ In fact, lack of adherence to the earlier rigid system of name, patronymic, papponymic, and metronymic, is another feature of the corpus of later *penthmeros* certificates, appearing in the 170s.²⁹ *P.Louvre* 1.31 should no longer be considered a faulty roll, and an explanation for why it was never cut up must be sought elsewhere.³⁰

In short, two developments affected the diplomatics of later *penthmeros* certificates: the loss of the supervising official's signature beginning in the 160s, followed in the next decade by the acceptance of less genealogical information in the worker's identification.

the article" (this is only true of *penthmeros* certificates). The number ε in this case need not be resolved, of course. Among apparent examples of this abbreviation found in the *DDBDP*, *SB* 12.11032 (Theadelphia, 197) has been corrected in D. Hagedorn, "Bemerkungen zu Urkunden," *ZPE* 183 (2012) 185-190 at 190.

²⁷ *P.Schøyen* 2.28.iv.5 reads Μῶρο(ς) Πρωτ(ᾱ) Φαβ() ; following the tip of an anonymous reader, the supposed patronymic can instead be read as πρεσ(βύτερος).

²⁸ Brashear (n. 5) 118. One further peculiarity I think can be explained through the prosopographical connections adduced in *P.Louvre*: Brashear thought that two certificates were accidentally drawn up for the same man, Pauaitis, son of Kannis (col. viii and ix of *P.Louvre* 1.31), but Jördens (*P.Louvre* 1.31.61/67 n.) has shown that this Pauaitis (whose name is also spelled Paoueteis and Paoueteis) had at least one brother with a similar sounding and variously spelled name (Paous in *BGU* 2.630.iv.30). Given this prosopographical evidence and the flexible spellings, I think the writer of *P.Louvre* 1.31 intended these certificates for two different sons of Kannis; whether these names were similar enough to produce identical spellings or whether this is in fact a mistake is difficult to tell.

²⁹ Pace Sijpesteijn (n. 1) 7, n. 2, who does not consider diachronic developments when he writes, "the worker, of course, is described as accurately as possible: his own name, those of his father, mother, and grandfather." Of the Tebtynis certificates listed in n. 23, the three from the year 178 record only the name, patronymic, and metronymic, while the later documents generally give only name and patronymic.

³⁰ T. Carp, "Five Tebtunis Papyri," *ZPE* 16 (1975) 47-62 at 51 suggests that the receipts on the roll *P.Tebt.* 2.371 + *SB* 14.11485 "may have been issued to one of the persons named for distribution to the others (friends or neighbors ?) or were never distributed at all." Kruse (n. 1) 312, n. 788 considers an archival function for another such roll, *PSI* 10.1110 + *P.Mert.* 3.103 (Thegonis, 157 CE). But official records of dike work were rather kept in space-saving ledgers, such as the famous *Charta Borgiana* (*SB* 1.5124, Tebtynis, 193; cf. above, Appendix 1, introduction), or shorter lists (e.g. *BGU* 13.2264, Arsinoite, 198).

AN ERIK VON SCHERLING PAPYRUS IN COPENHAGEN

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Abstract. — *Editio princeps* of a papyrus from the Arsinoite nome first offered for sale by the Swedish-Dutch dealer Erik von Scherling in 1954 and subsequently acquired by the papyrus collection in Copenhagen. The text records the repayment of a loan in 91 CE.

This contribution was inspired by the earlier publication of an article on “Missing Papyri: Greek and Coptic Papyri in the von Scherling Papyrus Collection” in this journal.¹ It is part of a series of studies on the Swedish-Dutch dealer in papyri, ancient manuscripts, and other antiquities Erik von Scherling. His name first came to my attention in 1984/1985 while working on “Eine lateinische Holztafel in Leiden.”² Then, in 1987, it reoccurred; see “P.Leid. inv. F 1948/3.4: A New Fragment concerning Market Taxes in Oxyrhynchus.”³ Erik von Scherling has been on my scholarly radar for over 30 years.

I am very grateful to Professors Kim Ryholt and Adam Bülow-Jacobsen: the former alerted me to the present location of the papyrus published below, while the latter informed me about the way he acquired it for the Copenhagen collection in the late 1980s from the London-based firm of Maggs Bros. Erik von Scherling died in 1956 without an immediate successor to continue his firm, and the papyrus first changed ownership between 1954 (*vide infra*) and 1956, after which antiquarians such as Maggs Bros. came to Oegstgeest to take over part of von Scherling’s

¹ Written by the present author in collaboration with R. Dekker, *BASP* 49 (2012) 175-208. For the von Scherling papyrus collection see also my “Greek von Scherling Papyri in Leiden,” *BASP* 50 (2013) 15-38. And for some biographical information see my “New von Scherling Papyri in Uppsala,” *BASP* 53 (2016) 61-78, esp. p. 61, n. 1. Finally, links between Erik von Scherling and Robert Forrer (Strasbourg) were documented in S. Torallas Tovar and K.A. Worp, “New Wooden Labels from Various Collections,” *ZPE* 184 (2013) 257-270, esp. p. 259. For von Scherling’s worldwide commercial activities see A.V. Bakkers, M.J. Bakker, and K.A. Worp, “Back to Oegstgeest: The von Scherling Papyrus Collection; Some von Scherling Texts in Minnesota,” *BASP* 44 (2007) 39-72. See also the appendix below. For von Scherling’s sales of medieval vellum MSS one can consult Peter Kidd’s weblog <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.nl/>.

² By H. Devijver, H. Harrauer, and K.A. Worp, *OMRO* 65 (1984-1985) 19-21.

³ By K.A. Worp, *OMRO* 67 (1987) 25-28.

holdings. For more information about the relations of Maggs Bros. with von Scherling, see *BASP* 44 (2007) 41-42. I also owe a great debt to Dieter Hagedorn (Cologne) who helped me to see the light, where I myself merely groped in the dark. Likewise I am grateful to the anonymous referees for *BASP* for their suggestions.

In von Scherling's papyrus collection the fragment carried the inventory number G. 501. A description of the fragment (copied from von Scherling's periodical *Rotulus* 7 [1954]) is quoted in *BASP* 49 (2012) 187, s.n. 2523: "Partial repayment of a loan. 15 × 3.8 cm., 21 lines, 1 or 2 letters missing at the LH side, ca. 12 letters missing at the RH side of each line, upper margin preserved, dated Year 10 of Domitian (= 91 C.E.). The original loan contract is referred to as a deed with six witnesses. Debtor: Onnophris, son of Harph<a>esis; creditor: Horos, a freedman, and his wife (?) Taharpagathes. (G. 501)."

This description mentions year 10 of Domitian, but the text in fact dates from the month Germanicus of year 11 of Domitian. I take it that the author of the description read [Ἔτο]ς δεκάτου, but from a paleographical point of view the reading of the letters εν before δεκάτου imposes itself. The L-shaped symbol for the word ἔτους fitted in the lacuna to the LH side of l. 1. I am not certain that ca. 12 letters are missing on the RH side, as stated in *Rotulus*. Ca. 8 letters may suffice to fill the gaps there. Also, part of the restorations may be transferred from the end of one line to the beginning of the next. The fluent handwriting leaves room for debate about the definitive reading.

The text is described in *Rotulus* as a loan contract, but in fact the text records a repayment of an earlier debt of an unknown amount of money (see l. 11: [ῶ]ν ὀφίλεν (l. ὀφείλεν) αὐτῷ), a debt incurred on the basis of (καθ') an earlier ὁμολογία ἑξαμάρτυρος (see l. 13). That debt may have been recorded by the notarial office (*grapheion*) in the Fayyumic village of Herakleia (for the *grapheion* of Herakleia, see D. Hobson in *BASP* 22 [1985] 105), but note that in that case the ἀναγέγραπται formula is lost in the lacuna at the bottom of the papyrus. The description of the parties involved supports the idea of a contract registered by a *grapheion*. For complications linked to this problem, see l. 14n., where the exceptional text of *SB* 4.7465 is quoted; it shows certain similarities with our document.

For loans of money and the relevant bibliography, see B. Tenger, *Die Verschuldung im römischen Ägypten (1.-2. Jh. n. Chr.)* (St.Katharinen 1993) and now F. Lerouxel, *Le marché du crédit dans le monde romain* (Roma 2016; *non vidi*).

In this repayment document no specification is given of the term of the loan or the interest to be paid according to the original loan contract. For similar repayment documents from the Fayyum, see, e.g., *BGU* 1.44 (102), 11.2047 (8), 2121 (I); *P.Amh.* 2.112 (128). Exact parallels for the text of our document are hard to find.

P.Haun. inv. 408

H × W = 15 × 3.8 cm

September 17 (?), 91 CE

Arsinoite Nome

- [(Ἔτους)] ἐνδεκάτου Αὐτοκρά(τορος) Καίσ(αρος)
 [Δ]ομιτιανοῦ Σεβα[στοῦ]
 [μη]νεῖ Γερμανικοῦ κ[ἔν] κώ(μη)]
 [Ἡρα]κλεία τῆς Θεμ[ί]στου μερ(ίδος) τοῦ
 5 [Ἀρ]σινοεῖτου νομοῦ. Ὁμολογεῖ
 [?] Ὁρος ἀπελεύθερος Ζωίδος]
 [ὥς] ἐτῶν εἴκοσι οὐλὴ [ca. 8]
 [Ὀνν]ώφρι Ἀρφαήσεω[ς ὥς ἐτῶν]
 [τρ]ιάκον<τα> οὐλὴ καρ[πῶ] . . . δέξ-]
 10 [ασ]θαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τ[. . λοιπ . .]
 [ῶ]ν ὄφειλεν αὐτῶ [ca. 8]
 [?] Ταρπαγάθης [. καθ']
 [ὁ]μολογίαν ἐξαμ[άρτυρον]
 [δρ]αχμῶν δια[κοσίων]
 15 [. . .]φρίου δραχμ[ᾶς n. Ὑπογρα(φεὺς)?]
 [?] τοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος N.N.]
 [Φ]ιλοξένου ὥ(ς) (ἐτῶν) ν. [ca. 8]
 (m. 2) [?] Ὁρος ἀπελε[ύθερος]
 [Ζ]ωίδος ὁμο[λογῶ] ἀπέ-]
 20 [χειν] παρὰ Ονν[ώφριοις]
 [. . . .] . ις ἀφ' ὧν [ca. 7]

1 ἐνδεκάτου: κ written over end of middle bar of preceding ε 7 εἴκοσι: initial ε- ex
 corr. or partly redrawn? 11 ὄφειλεν 19 Ζωίδος; or (palaeographically less likely)
 Ἡρακλῆδος

“In the eleventh year of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus, on the 20th (day) in the month of Germanicus in the village of Herakleia of the district of Themistos of the Arsinoite nome. Horos, the freedman of Zois, ca. twenty years old, with a scar ..., acknowledges to Onnophris son of Harphaesis, ca. thirty(?) years old, with a scar on his ... wrist, to have

received from him the remainder of the 200(+) drachmas which Tahar-pagathes daughter of ... owed him according to an agreement signed by six witnesses ... -phrios, viz. × drachmas. Subscriber(?) of the agreeing party ... son of Philoxenos, ca. 50(+) years old. I, Horos freedman of Zoīs, acknowledge to have received from Onnophris ... from which ...”

1 At the beginning of the line there is not enough space to write Ἐτους out in full. Compare the size of the lacunae at the beginning of ll. 2-19.

2-3 It is conceivable that in the lacuna after Σεβα[στοῦ] the honorific epithet Γερμανικοῦ was written (it was given to Domitian in September(?) of the year 83 CE; for the month, see D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*, 2nd ed. [Darmstadt 1996] 117), but I do not think that the size of the lacuna allows this restoration; cf. in particular the size of the RH lacuna in l. 13. Moreover the honorific epithet is sometimes omitted in other, contemporaneous texts featuring the titlature of Domitian as well (e.g. *BGU* 2.536.18 [Soknopaiou Nesos; 84 CE]; *P.Athen.* 28.2 [Theadelphia; 86 CE]; *P.Mich.* 9.567 [Karanis; 91 CE]; and *BGU* 15.2551 [Polydeukeia; 95 CE]). The omission may have been influenced by the reference to the month Germanicus in the next line. In Egypt this is the equivalent of the Egyptian month Thoth. Thoth 20 (if that is the day numeral) is September 17, while year 11 of Domitian = 91/92 CE. Hence our document would date from September 17, 91 CE. The day numeral seems most likely to be a κ, rather than a β. The numeral has been marked by a small supralinear horizontal dash.

4 For the Fayyumic village Herakleia, see TM/Geo place/772.

6, 18 The scribes may have indented the name Ὠρος at the start of ll. 6 and 18. Something similar seems to apply to ll. 12 and 16.

The name of the freedman may be a slightly longer name ending in -ωρος. For instance, TM/People produces ca. 20 compound names ending in -δωρος. The personal name Δῶρος however, is excluded here, because it is typically Ptolemaic. A restoration such as [Ἰσιδ]ωρος would be too long.

A freedman Horos is not yet attested in the DDBDP. For freedmen in the papyri in general, see A. Calderini, *Appunti sulla manomissione e la condizione dei liberti in Grecia* (Milano 1953), S. Daris, “Note su liberti.” *StudPap* 18 (1979) 7-11, and I. Biežuńska-Małowist, “L’avancement des affranchis,” *Index* 13 (1985) 491-493.

6, 19 For the restoration of the RH lacuna of l. 6, see the critical apparatus at l. 19.

8 An Ὀννώφρις son of Ἀρφαῖσις is not yet attested in the DDBDP.

9 D. Hagedorn suggested to read the age as τεσσα]ράκον<τα> or τρ]ιάκον<τα>. For the erroneous omission of the final syllable, he refers to *PSI* 4.355.6-7 (Arsinoite nome, 253 BCE): τρι]άκον<τα>; one may also compare *PFam.Tebt.* 2.27 (Arsinoite nome, 92 CE), *P.Oxy.* 63.4397.214 (545 CE), *P.Oxy.* 77.5107.32-33 (210/211 CE): τεσσαράκον<τα>, and *P.Petra* 2.29,232 (582-592 C.E.). Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* 2.196.

The reading καρ[πῶ was also suggested by D. Hagedorn.

10 Or read]γαί at the beginning? That would point to infinitives such as ἐσχηκέναι and εἰληφέναι. Reading a damaged θ before -αί seems easier than reading a ν. A formula featuring δεξασθαι does not yet appear in the DDBDP.

11-12 One may speculate that Taharpagathes was the wife, the mother, or the sister of Onnophris son of Harphaesis (l. 8). One may supply [ή γυνή / μήτηρ/ ἀδελφή] in l. 11. In any case, Taharpagathes was the original debtor.

13 In the Roman period the ὁμολογία ἐξαμάρτυρος (a type of document developed in Ptolemaic Egypt) is mainly attested in Heracleopolis: see *P.Vindob.Salomons* 6 (190 CE), *SPP* 20.16 (193), *BGU* 3.989 (226), *BGU* 3.813 (provenance unknown, II); probably the following are not such documents: *P.Oslo* 2.32 (Arsinoite nome, 23); *P.Fay.* 89 (Arsinoite nome, 9). Cf. H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaeer und des Prinzipats* 2 (München 1978), esp. pp. 72-73, where he writes: “Desgleichen muß beim gegenwärtigen Quellenstand offen bleiben, wie sich das herakleopolitische δάνειον ἐξαμάρτυρον des 2./3. Jh. zu einer in fayûmischen Texten des 1. und frühen 2. Jh. ab und zu [*P.Oslo* 2.32 and *P.Fay.* 89] erwähnten, aber in ihrer formalen Gestalt noch nicht faßbaren ὁμολογία (*SB.* IV 7465), bzw. ἀποχή ἐξαμάρτυρος verhielt.”

14 Instead of δρ]αχμῶν I thought of an alternative reading, δρ]αχμῆν. For paleographical reasons I was inclined to prefer the latter, because the ω preceding the final ν did not convince me, and for the shape of the η I found parallels in ll. 4, 7, 8, and 12. But a (final?) repayment of only one drachma out of 200 would be surprising. Such small amounts occur predominantly in tax receipts.

D. Hagedorn suggested the following restoration of ll. 10-15: τ[ὰς λοιπὰς (or τ[ὴν λοιπὰδα])] | [ᾗ]ν ὀφίλεν αὐτῷ [ca. 8] | Τααρπαγάθης [. καθ'] | [ὁ]μολογίαν ἐξαμ[άρτυρον] | [δρ]αχμῶν δια[κοσίων x] |

[ἀρ]γυρίου δραχμ[ὰς x. The reading [ἀρ]γυρίου had occurred to me also, but later on Hagedorn was inclined to read at the beginning of l. 15]φρίου: “In Z. 15, wo Du [ἀρ]γυρίου schreibst, sehe ich eher]φρίου (von dem langen senkrechten Strich des Phi ist tief unten am Rande noch ein Punkt vorhanden). Das διὰ in Z. 14 läßt mich daran denken, daß hier vielleicht stand, durch welches Grapheion die Homologia ausgefertigt war.”

First-century loans of money reporting amounts of 200 drachmae or more are to be found in: *P.Oxy.* 47.3351 (34 CE), 200 dr.; *P.Fouad* 47 (Ars.; 47 CE), 240 dr.; *P.Zauzich* 39 (Nilopolis; 54 CE), 260 dr.; *P.Wisc.* 2.53 (Kopt.; 55 CE), 240 dr.; *P.Mich.* 3.194 (Oxy.; 61 CE), 200 dr.; *P.Vindob. Tandem* 22 (Nilopolis; 64 CE), 208 dr.; *P.Yale* 1.64 (Oxy.; 74/75 CE), 212 dr.; *P.Fouad* 49 (Tebtynis?; 75-100 CE), 280 dr.; *P.Stras.* 9.826 (Ars., 76-100), 1200 dr.; *P.Lond.* 2.142 (Karanis; 95 CE), 1240 dr.; *SB* 18.13234 (Aueris, 98/99 CE), 1200 dr.; *P.Princ.* 3.142 (Tebtynis?; I-II?), 224 dr.; *P.Leid.Inst.* 26 (provenance unknown; I CE), 200 dr.

Here a restoration διὰ [τραπέζης may also be considered (see below for *SB* 4.7465.1-2), or – as Hagedorn observed – the possibility of combining ll. 14-15 in our text to διὰ [| γρα]φρίου (*l. γραφίου*); for the spelling error, cf. *P.Giss.* 1.29.22: γραφρούσης. For the notarial office in Herakleia see the introduction above.

A bank is mentioned in *SB* 4.7465.1-2 (Ars., Oct. 8, 44 CE):

- ἀντίγρ(αφον) διεγβολ(ῆς) διὰ τῆ(ς) Ἀκεσιλ(άου)
 τρ(απέζης) Κλεο(πατρίου). ἔτους πέμπτου
 Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτο(ρος),
 5 Φαῶφι ια. Νεμεσίων Ζωίλ(ου)
 Ἑρακλείδῃ Ἑρμοδώρου.
 ἀπεῖχεν αὐτ[ο]ῦ ἐν παραθήκ(η)
 καθ' ἐξαμάρτυρο(ν) ὁμολογίαν,
 ἦν καὶ ἀνακεκόμισται εἰς
 10 ἀκύρωσιν καὶ ἀθέτησιν,
 ὑπογεγραμμένην ἀργυρίου
 (δραχμὰς) διακοσίας, γί(νονται) σ.

In ll. 14-15 of our text we may read διὰ [τῆς Ἀκεσιλ(άου) τρ(απέζης) Κλεο-][πα]τρίου. Paleographically the reading]φρίου is more acceptable; cf. the φ in [Ὀνν]ῶφι (l. 8). The tiny vertical ink trace visible on top of the horizontal dash that might be part of a φ is hard to imagine with a τ (or could it be a prolongation of the vertical hasta of a τ?).

For another reference to a bank in the Κλεοπάτριον quarter of Arsinoe, see *BGU* 2.445.6 (Ars.; 148/9 CE). Remarkably enough, this bank does not appear in R. Bogaert, *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca* (Firenze 1994).

For the Κλεοπάτριον town quarter in Arsinoe, see TM /Geo/ID no. 1118.

Whether our text is also part of a διεκβολή (“an acknowledgement of a payment received through a bank”), just as *SB* 4.7465, must remain an open question.

15-17 A search in the DDBDP shows that τοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος is frequently found after ὑπογραφεύς (26 times in the DDBDP) or within a πράξις clause. The space needed for restoring the latter clause, e.g., τῆς πράξεως οὐσης τῷ N.N. ἔκ τε τοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ, is not available in the RH lacuna of l. 15.

For the term ὑπογραφεύς and its meaning within a social/legal context, see H.C. Youtie, “Υπογραφεύς: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt,” *ZPE* 17 (1975) 201-221 (= idem, *Scriptiunculae posteriores* 2 [Bonn 1981] 179-199). Here, one party to the contract, Horos, freedman of Zois (ll. 6-7), is able to subscribe the document with his own hand (cf. the second hand starting in l. 18). For a legal discussion of the subject of *hypographe*, see Wolff, *op.cit.* (l. 13n.) 164-166.

[Φ]ιλοξένου in l. 17 is the *hypographeus* or, more likely, his father.

I owe the reading of ὦ(ς) (ἐτῶν) to D. Hagedorn.

19-20 I owe the reading παρά in the formula ὁμο[λογῶ ἀπέ][χειν] παρὰ Ὀνν[ώφριος] to D. Hagedorn.

21] . ις could be the end of Onnophris’ patronymic (written in nom. instead of gen.). The element ἀφ’ ὧν (= of which [sc. drachmae]) also suggests a partial repayment.

Appendix

A few of the papyri offered for sale by Erik von Scherling (cited below by *Rotulus* number; for details see *BASP* 49 [2012] 175-208, especially pp. 189-192, 207-208) resurfaced after 2012:

1696 (Coptic)	<i>BASP</i> 53 (2016) 61, n. 1: St. Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society, Los Angeles
1885 (Homer)	<i>BASP</i> 53 (2016) 61, n. 1: Newberry Library, Chicago

1889 (geography)	M. Perale, <i>ZPE</i> 199 (2016) 155-169: University Libraries, University of Minnesota
1895 (Coptic apocryphon)	<i>ZPE</i> 199 (2016) 161, n. 18: recently sold at Christie's
1896 (Coptic homily?)	<i>ZPE</i> 199 (2016) 161, n. 18
2008 (Greek letter?)	<i>BASP</i> 53 (2016) 57: McGill University Library, Montreal
2195 (Greek letter)	<i>BASP</i> 53 (2016) 64: University Library, Uppsala
2204 (Greek letter)	<i>BASP</i> 53 (2016) 66: University Library, Uppsala
2208 (Coptic martyrdom)	G. 206 is likely to be correct, because C. 206 would be much higher than the highest Coptic inventory number attested (C. 140); Greek inventory numbers go up to G. 530
2212a (Coptic apocryphon)	http://www.schoyencollection.com/apocryphal-literature/philip-peter-phrygia-ms-2007
2238 (Greek and Arabic)	<i>AnalPap</i> 31 (2001) 47-61: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze
2248 (Coptic letter)	<i>BASP</i> 53 (2016) 77-78: University Library, Uppsala ⁴
2523 (repayment of a loan)	above: Institute for Greek and Latin, University of Copenhagen
2526 (census return)	<i>BASP</i> 53 (2016) 69: University Library, Uppsala
List 9, #3 (list of names)	<i>BASP</i> 53 (2016) 62: University Library, Uppsala

Erik von Scherling texts ended up in North-America in the following places: in Bloomington, IN, Boulder, CO, Chicago, IL, Lawrence, KS, Minneapolis, MN, Durham, NC, New Haven, CT, in Wichita, KS, Los Angeles, CA, and Montreal, Canada. In Europe such texts ended up in: Amsterdam (Allard Pierson Museum), Rotterdam (National Museum of Taxation), Leiden (National Museum of Antiquities, Papyrological Institute, University Library); Florence (Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana); London (BM); Copenhagen (University of Copenhagen); Oslo (Martin Schøyen collection); Uppsala (University of Uppsala).

⁴ Ms. R. Dekker informs me that $\epsilon\mu\zeta\eta$ in l. 2 should be corrected into $\epsilon\mu\zeta\iota\tau$ "northern" (Crum, *Dict.* 212a). The letter refers to either a "northern monastery" or a "northern mountain."

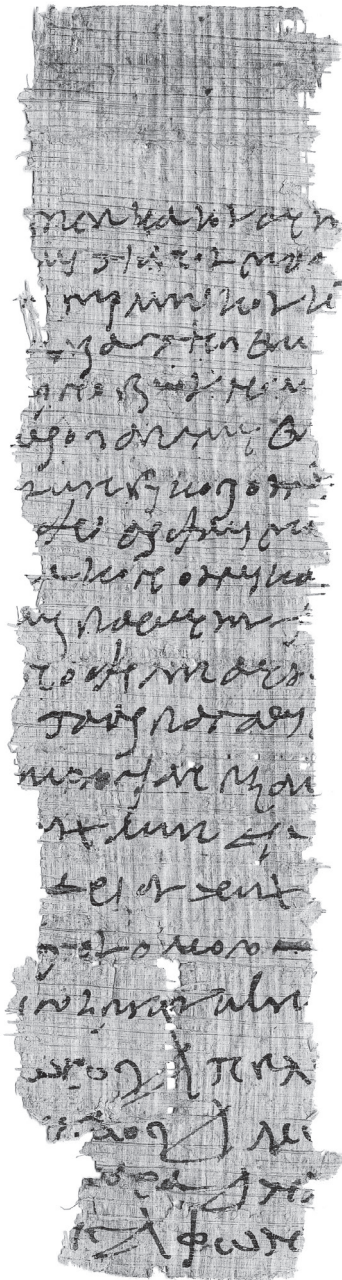


Fig. 1: P.Haun. inv. 408, courtesy Institute for Greek and Latin,
University of Copenhagen

BEGINNING OF A LETTER OF THE ACTING PREFECT MUSSIUS AEMILIANUS¹

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Abstract. — Edition of a Greek papyrus with the beginning of a letter of L. Mussius Aemilianus directed to Dius, president of the town council of the city of Arsinoe, and probably dealing with a problem concerning the nomination of an *exegetes*.

Not often does one find the original version of a letter sent by a famous person from Antiquity. The papyrus published below, however, contains the beginning of an original letter of the acting prefect of Egypt, Lucius Mussius Aemilianus. He is known from various sources.² He was probably born in Italy and was of equestrian rank. An inscription dated 247 CE and found in Ostia, on what must have been the base of his statue, informs us about his early career.³ After passing quickly through the ranks of the military, Mussius Aemilianus had started his administrative career as *praefectus vehiculorum trium provinciarum Galliarum* (commander of transportation in the three provinces of Gaul; probably under Philippus Arabs). He then became *procurator Alexandriae Pelusi Paraetoni* (manager of the three harbours of Egypt on the Mediterranean coast), which

¹ The papyrus published in this article is privately owned in Wilrijk, Belgium. It formerly belonged to the Gerald E. Wellburn collection, which was described in Wellburn's handwritten album *A Postal History Collection of Great Britain* (1938) (displayed online at the website of Victoria Stamps: http://www.vicstamps.com/displays/postal_history_collection_gb/table_contents.html [accessed March 2016]; see no. 8 of the online exhibit for this papyrus). I thank the present owner for bringing the papyrus to my attention and allowing me to publish it. I also thank Cary Martin for correcting my English.

² For Lucius Mussius Aemilianus see *PIR*² M 757; A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Bern 1950) 143-145; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut Empire* (Paris 1960-1961) 2.925-927, no. 349; A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* 1 (Cambridge 1971) 23; P. Bureth, "Le préfet d'Égypte (30 av. J.C. – 297 ap. J.C.): État présent de la documentation en 1973", *ANRW* 2.10.1 (1988) 494; G. Bastianini, "Il prefetto d'Egitto (30 a.C. – 297 d.C.): Addenda (1973 – 1985)," *ibid.* 514 and "Επαρχος Αιγύπτου nel formulario dei documenti da Augusto a Diocleziano," *ibid.* 583-597; see further the comprehensive overview of the preceding literature by B.C. McGing in *P.Dublin*, pp. 102-103, note to text 18, ll. 5-6.

³ *CIL* 6.1624 = 14.170 = Dessau, *ILS* 1433.

was followed by a similar position in the harbours of Ostia: *procurator portus utriusque Ostiae* (where a statue with the aforementioned inscription was set up in 247).

Almost ten years later Mussius Aemilianus is found back in Egypt again. From this period stem the attestations in a growing number of papyri (19 attestations at the moment; see below and Appendix). He is first attested as acting prefect of Egypt, assisting the *correctores* Ulpius Pasio and Claudius Theodorus under emperor Valerian. Eusebius, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, relates the Alexandrian bishop Dionysius' story of how Aemilianus in this function was implementing, in the courts of Alexandria, Valerianus' order to persecute Christians (in 258).⁴ Between 259 and 261 Mussius Aemilianus is attested in the papyri as prefect of Egypt. Other literary sources⁵ inform us about the end of his career: in 260, when emperor Valerianus was captured by the Sassanids, Mussius Aemilianus sided with the usurpers Macrianus and Quietus, as is also shown by the fact that coins with their images were struck in Alexandria.⁶ After the death of Macrianus in autumn 261, Mussius Aemilianus proclaimed himself emperor of the Roman Empire. But this did not last long: troops under the command of Theodotus, who was sent there by emperor Gallienus, entered Egypt and captured Mussius Aemilianus before the 30th of March 262. Subsequently he was put to death in Rome. This well-known figure is the sender of the papyrus letter published below.

The letter is directed to a certain Dius, a *prytanis* or president of the town council (βουλή) of Arsinoe (Ἀρσινοϊτῶν scil. πόλις), who is probably known from another papyrus (see note to l. 2). The city of the addressee, Arsinoe, the metropolis of the Arsinoite nome (modern-day Fayum), is logically also the place where the papyrus must have been found. Dius is ordered by the prefect to come, or to send someone else to represent him (l. 3: ἢ αὐτὸς ἦκε ἢ ἄλλον ἀντὶ σοῦ ἀποστείλον), so that a problem may be solved concerning someone's nomination as *exegetes* (ll. 3-5): ὥστ[ε] παρ[α]τυχεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα κατὰ τὴν ὀνομασίαν ... εἰς ἐξηγητείαν, where I have tentatively translated ὥστ[ε] παρ[α]τυχεῖν with "so that the case can come up" (see note to ll. 3-4). This would be a reference to a court case probably to be judged by the prefect. Dius is obviously asked to come to the prefect: this could be in Alexandria, the

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist.Eccl.* 7.11.

⁵ *SHA Gallieni Duo* 4.1-2, 5.6, 9.1; *SHA Tyranni Triginta* 21.1-8; Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus* 32.4; these literary sources may be partly fictitious.

⁶ See, e.g., E. Christiansen, *Coinage in Roman Egypt. The Hoard Evidence* (Aarhus 2004) 117.

official seat of the prefect, but perhaps it was closer by. It is known that the prefect regularly travelled to several cities in Egypt to hold his yearly *conventus* or, in Greek, διαλογισμός, during which the prefect decided on local matters in court and conducted a review of the local administration and finances. This happened according to a fixed calendar. As can be found in Foti Talamanca's study of the *conventus*, for Middle and Upper Egypt this was normally held between late January and mid-April⁷ at Memphis or at Arsinoe, maybe alternating every year, or rather sometimes in both cities, as is shown by Haensch in his article "Konventsordnung."⁸ This letter cannot, however, be counted towards the scarce evidence⁹ for the *conventus* in the third century, especially as the *prytanis* is allowed to send a representative. In this case, a good reason for sending someone else might just be the fact that the court session is held in Alexandria, which would cause the *prytanis* to be away from his daily duties for too long. Although our letter is not specific about the location, it must have been clear enough to Dius himself where he was supposed to go.

Mikkalos in line 5 must be the nominee in question, who probably petitioned against his nomination to *exegetes*. It is unfortunate that the rest of the papyrus is broken off, but it is likely that the present letter was written in reaction to a petition Mussius Aemilianus might have received from Mikkalos, concerning a complaint about the latter's nomination to *exegetes*. As a result of that, the acting prefect would then have summoned the *prytanis*, accused of the unlawful nomination, to appear before his court. There are several papyri in which *prytaneis* are attested in court proceedings before the prefect, but in those cases they are advocating for the inhabitants of their city or nome (for instance to lower tax burdens).¹⁰ In the present case, the *prytanis* would stand in court as the defendant.

⁷ G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo nell'Egitto greco-romano, I: L'organizzazione del "conventus" del "praefectus Aegypti"* (Milano 1974), see pp. 160-161 on Memphis and/or Arsinoe; N. Lewis, "The Prefect's Conventus: Proceedings and Procedures," *BASP* 18 (1981) 119-129, p. 120, note 4 about Arsinoe probably alternating with Memphis.

⁸ R. Haensch, "Zur Konventsordnung in Aegyptus und den übrigen Provinzen des römischen Reiches," in *Akten des 21. Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) 1.320-391, esp. p. 328. In Appendix I-II Haensch cites 6 texts with proof of a *conventus* in Arsinoe.

⁹ Cf. Haensch (n. 8) 334.

¹⁰ E.g. *P.Oxy.* 14.1662 (246 CE) letter of the *prytanis* of the town council of Oxyrhynchus to the *strategos*: request to appoint a deputy while the *prytanis* goes to Alexandria to appeal to the prefect about taxation of the nome; *P.Oxy.* 22.2341 (208 CE) where a *prytanis* is present at the prefect's *conventus* in the Oxyrhynchite nome, accusing the *strategos* of the late delivery of taxes in kind. Cf. A. Jördens, "Das Verhältnis der römischen Amtsträger in Ägypten zu den 'Städten' in der Provinz," in W. Eck (ed.), *Lokale Autonomie*

Much is known about the nomination of candidates for magistracies, but most of this stems from papyri found in Oxyrhynchus and, to a lesser extent, also Hermopolis.¹¹ So our text, coming from Arsinoe, is a welcome addition to the rather scarce information on this city's council. To see a *prytanis* nominating someone for the magistracy of *exegetes* is otherwise totally in agreement with the existing documentation from elsewhere.¹² For in the case of candidates for the higher magistracies, the town council, represented by its president, the *prytanis*, was responsible for the nomination of candidates, who were chosen from their own body of *bouleutai*.¹³ The actual decision to appoint someone to a magistracy was still taken by the *strategos*.¹⁴ Magistracies, which were originally regarded as functions of honor for members of the elite, had in the third century slowly been equated with liturgies, and were then often seen as a burden.¹⁵ So it became more and more difficult to find candidates, which at the same time led to an increase in complaints about allegedly unlawful nominations. A papyrus from 235 CE preserves a whole record of different appeals against nominations, also against the nomination to *exegetes*.¹⁶ In a papyrus from ca. 250 CE

und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien 42; München 1999) 141-180, here p. 170 with n. 146.

¹¹ On nomination to magistracies see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Pap.Flor. 28; Firenze 1997) 75-79 with table I, pp. 114-117.

¹² Nomination acclaimed in *P.Oxy.* 12.1413 and 44.3187; informed of function by *prytanis* in *P.Oxy.* 6.891.

¹³ See E.P. Wegener, "The βουλὴ and the Nomination to the ἀρχαὶ in the μητροπόλεις of Roman Egypt," in P.W. Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte* (P.L.Bat. 23; Leiden 1985) 62-114 [corrected reprint of 1948]; A.K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971) 98; Lewis (n. 11) 83: "the boule exercised a de facto, if not a de jure, power of appointment: barring some clear illegality, formal approval of their nominations by the strategos, later the logistes, would be automatic," and p. 87: "under the Dominate, ... some simplification of the appointment procedure was effected. This appears, for example, in the role of the boule assigned to its presiding officer. The πρύτανις, ..., now the boule tended to leave the whole matter of liturgic appointments more and more to his sole discretion, with authority to act in its name." See also C. Drecoll, *Die Liturgien im römischen Kaiserreich des 3. und 4. Jh. n.Chr.* (Stuttgart 1997) 13-18, and A. Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'Empire protobyzantin* (Paris 2002) 220: "Sous le Haut-Empire, la nomination aux honores et aux munera comport deux étapes: la *nominatio* (en grec ὀνομασία ou προβολή), qui est la désignation d'un candidat par un *nominator*, et la *creatio*, la ratification de la *nominatio* par la curie."

¹⁴ On the appointive power of the strategos cf. Lewis (n. 11) 82: "By the third century his appointive power had become little more than a formality, since nominations had become essentially self-effectuating."

¹⁵ See L.E. Tacoma, *Fragile Hierarchies: The Urban Elites of Third-century Roman Egypt* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 271; Leiden 2006) 8 with further literature and passim.

¹⁶ *P.Rainer Cent.* 68 (dated around 235 CE and originating from the Lycopolite nome). On exemption from liturgies see N. Lewis, "Exemption from Liturgy in Roman Egypt,"

the prefect Titinnius Clodianus is also involved in a case of nomination to the *exegeteia* (*P.Harrauer* 35, Hermopolis). Another papyrus dated to 250 CE relates a court case before the prefect of a *prytanis* of the same city of Arsinoe about his problems in finding candidates for liturgies: village inhabitants protest against their nomination as city magistrates (*SB* 5.7696).

Complaints about nominations could be sent to the town council itself, or to the *strategos*, but very often we see them addressed directly to the highest authority in Egypt: the prefect. The papyri have preserved no less than 11 petitions (out of the ca. 75 listed by Haensch in his “Bearbeitungsweisen von Petitionen”¹⁷) where the prefect was appealed to by private individuals on unjustified nominations to liturgies. Often these cases were decided upon by the prefect himself, in court sessions held in Alexandria or at the *conventus*. In the case of our text, we cannot know which steps, if any, had preceded this letter. A petition may first have been lodged with the *strategos* containing a summons (called *παραγγελία*¹⁸) to the defendant, which may have been forwarded to the prefect. Or the complainant may have skipped this step. What we do know is that Mussius Aemilianus now summons the *prytanis* who was responsible for the perhaps unjust nomination of Mikkalos so that he can deal with the case in his court. Drecoll illustrates how persons who nominate a liturgist, personally or as a group, guarantee the liturgy and, moreover, that nominators are sometimes attested to take the liturgy upon themselves, if the nominee could not fulfill the task.¹⁹ A *prytanis* of the town council of Hermopolis is found in 250 CE to have taken over the liturgy of a *kosmetes* from the original nominee. So it may be assumed that this κίνδυνος ἀναδόσεως or *periculum nominatorum* as it was called, also applied to our *prytanis* Dius either personally, or to the whole town council who had agreed to his nomination.

The nineteen papyri (one of them still unpublished) now known attesting Mussius Aemilianus are listed in the Appendix below. Nine of them are texts with references to earlier orders or decisions of Mussius Aemilianus

in *Atti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milano 1966) 508-541 = Lewis (n. 11) 147-173; J.D. Thomas, “Two Petitions Concerning Liturgies: BGU XI 2064 and PSI XII 1245,” in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Miscellanea Papirologica* (Pap.Flor. 7; Firenze 1980) 355-365.

¹⁷ R. Haensch, “Die Bearbeitungsweisen von Petitionen in der Provinz Aegyptus,” *ZPE* 100 (1994) 487-546; the prefect could be appealed to on any problem by the whole population.

¹⁸ See Foti Talamanca (n. 7) 182-183; Lewis (n. 7) 122; N. Lewis, “To the Conventus by *παραγγελία*: The Time Factor,” *JJP* 33 (2003) 85-90.

¹⁹ Drecoll (n. 13) 317ff.

(nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19). Six texts are petitions, or contain copies of petitions, directed to Mussius Aemilianus himself (nos. 4, 8, 9, 12, 15, 16), sometimes partly written in Latin (nos. 4 and 16). One of the latter is a writing exercise with the address of a petition to Mussius Aemilianus as acting prefect. These petitions all relate to disputes or juridical problems to be resolved. Two of the texts are letters of Mussius Aemilianus himself (nos. 3 and 11 = the text published below) and one is a tiny fragment of court proceedings in which Mussius Aemilianus seems to speak (no. 10). Most of these papyri come from Oxyrhynchus. One, perhaps two, of them stem from Hermopolis, and our letter is the first which was presumably found in Arsinoe.

All these papyri show Mussius Aemilianus fulfilling the various tasks of prefect, which are comprehensively described by Jördens in her book *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*.²⁰ Mussius Aemilianus gave orders to and instructed his subordinates, especially the nome *strategoi* who directly reported to him. He was present at court, took decisions, and solved administrative and juridical problems. He was engaged in private as well as public matters, on the one hand deciding on the appointment of a guardian (Appendix no. 16), the division of landed property (no. 17), or the ownership of slaves (no. 9), and on the other hand ordering the declaration of temple property (no. 13) and conducting official correspondence about the visit of a corrector (no. 3) and about the position of Christians (which corroborates the story in Eusebius, no. 6); we even hear that Mussius Aemilianus requisitioned wine for his troops (no. 14). In the *Historia Augusta* Mussius Aemilianus was praised for his energetic administration²¹ and this may well have been true.²²

Some texts of this dossier are, content-wise, closely related to the present letter. Two petitions deal with similar problems of unjust nominations, referring to earlier decisions of Mussius Aemilianus about the exemption from liturgies on the grounds of old age (Appendix nos. 12 and 15). There is also a second letter written by Mussius Aemilianus as acting prefect: *P.Oxy.* 43.3112 (no. 3). That letter, however, is a copy: the text starts with

²⁰ A. Jördens, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Studien zum praefectus Aegypti* (Stuttgart 2009).

²¹ ... *nec eius ad regendam rem publicam vigor defuit* (*SHA Tyr.Trig.* 22.6).

²² Cf. R. Haensch, "Quelques observations générales concernant la correspondance conservée des préfets d'Égypte," in J. Desmulliez, C. Hoët-Van Cauwenberghe, and J.-C. Jolivet (eds.), *L'étude des correspondances dans le monde romain* (Lille 2010) 95-113, here p. 102. It should be kept in mind, though, that the fact that Mussius Aemilianus left relatively many traces in the papyrological documentation is in the first place explained by the long duration of his stay in Egypt: he was in office for more than six years.

the word ἀντίγραφο[v]. It is directed to (probably) a *strategos* and its subject is a visit of the *corrector Aegypti* Ulpius Pasio (258 CE). Both this and the present letter are short and straightforward, and no official titles are used either for the prefect himself or for the addressee. The stylish writing of the present letter, expected for a document probably written in the prefectural chancery at Alexandria, is not found in the Oxyrhynchus text.

This also means that the papyrus published below represents the only original letter of Mussius Aemilianus. Moreover, even if only less than half of it remains, it represents one of the rare original letters from an (acting) prefect of Egypt surviving from the whole period before Diocletian.²³

The text published below is of unknown origin, but most likely was found in the city it was sent to, Arsinoe. The papyrus is broken off at all sides, but part of the upper and left margins is preserved. It contains five lines of Greek, and traces of a sixth line, written in black ink along the fibers. The handwriting is a beautiful example of the chancery style of the 3rd century CE.²⁴ The letter forms are clear and elegant; *iota*, *rho*, and *xi* have exaggerated downward strokes and the initial letters of lines 1-3 are enlarged. The writer took special care with the layout of the text: lines 1 and 3 protrude to the left, while line 2 is slightly indented, with the final word χαίρειν written after a wide space. Word spacing is used in several places (e.g. l. 2 between πρυτάνι and Ἀρσιννοϊτῶν, l. 4 between τὸ and

²³ Cf. J.D. Thomas, "Communication between the Prefect of Egypt, the Procurators and the Nome Officials," in Eck (n. 10) 181-195, here p. 185 on the difficulty "to establish that a letter is an original. I can think of only one certain example: a text published in 1910 by Zucker which is well known to paleographers as a splendid example of the chancery hand" (SB 1.4639). Haensch (n. 22) 97 shows that out of the about 75 letters of prefects that were found so far from the period before Diocletian (so not taking into account *P.Oxy.* 43.3129 of a much later date, 335 CE), still only one is certainly an original letter: the well-known letter of Subatianus Aquila of 209 (SB 1.4639), with the original signature of the prefect at the end of the main text. (If our letter had been fully preserved, it might have had the handwritten signature of Mussius Aemilianus on it.) Letters of vice-prefects were not taken into account in the afore-mentioned studies, but I do not know of one in chancery style. More recently a papyrus roll was published, *P.Harrauer* 35, containing three letters assumed to be written in the prefect's chancery, one of which is a copy of a prefect's letter. It cannot be excluded that the first original letter was written by the prefect as well; cf. *P.Harrauer*, pp. 104-105.

Another letter of a prefect, which is sometimes regarded as originally stemming from the prefect's chancery (*P.Köln* 8.351), is a copy rather than an original, since the date is written in the same hand as the rest of the text (as noted by Verhoogt in *BL* 12), and the signature as well.

²⁴ See G. Cavallo, "La scrittura del P. Berol. 11532: contributo allo studio dello stile di cancelleria nei papiri greci di età romana," *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 216-249 with plates; H. Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie* (Stuttgart 2010) 74-77.

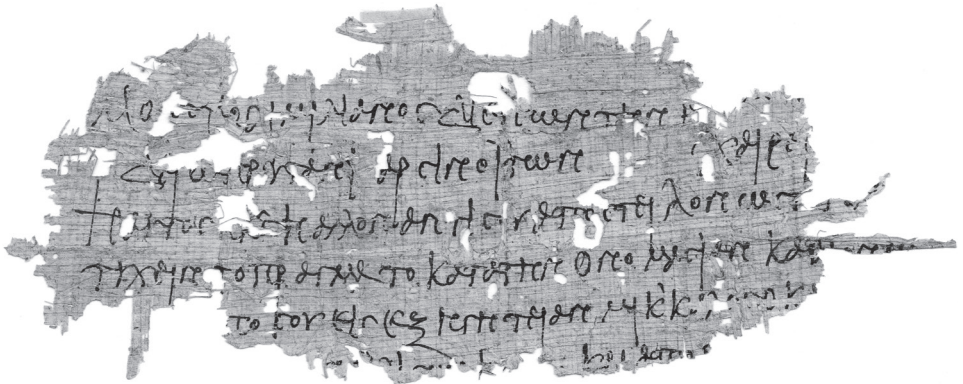
κατά). A *diaeresis* is found on Ἀρσινοϊτῶν (l. 2) and an apostrophe divides the double *kappa* of Μικ'καλος (l. 5). The verso is empty.

This letter may be dated to the period after 255/Spring 256 (first mention of Mussius Aemilianus as vice-prefect in P.Strasb. inv. 1302 = Appendix no. 1) and before September/October 259 CE (first mention of him as prefect in *P.Ryl.* 2.110 = no. 13).

P.Wilrijk W × H = 15 × 5.7 cm Written in Alexandria, found in Arsinoe
Dated ca. 255-259 CE

→ Μο[ύ]σσιος Αἰμιλιανὸς διέπων τὴν ἡ[γε]μ[ο]ν[ί]αν
Δεῖω πρυτάνι Ἀρσινοϊτῶν *vacat* χαίρει[ν.]
Ἦ αὐτὸς ἦκε ἢ ἄλλον ἀντὶ σοῦ ἀπόστειλον ὥστ[ε] παρ[α-]
τυχεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ κατὰ τὴν ὀνομασίαν καθ' ἣν ᾧ-
5 [νομάσθη ὅ]πρὸ σοῦ εἰς ἐξηγητείαν Μίκκαλος ὁ κα[ὶ] . . .
[.] ν . . . οἶσ . . . [.] . καὶ ἀποσ[.]

2 l. πρυτάνει; αρσινοϊτων pap. 5 μικ'καλος pap.



“Mussius Aemilianus acting as prefect, to Dios, president of the town council of Arsinoitonpolis, greetings.

Either come yourself, or send another instead of you, so that the case of the nomination can come up (in court) (?), according to which Mikkalos alias N.N. was nominated by you for the function of *exegetes* ...”

1 Μο[ύ]σσιος Αἰμιλιανός: see introduction. The reading of the names is beyond doubt, even when the letters *οσα* cannot actually be verified; it seems that the papyrus was wrongly restored at this point.

– διέπων τὴν ἡ[γε]μ[ο]ν[ίαν]: the same expression in nos. 1-12 of the Appendix.

2 Δεῖω πρυτάνι Ἀρσινοϊτῶν: Δῖος or Δεῖος (Latin *Dius*) is a very common name, but presidents of the town council of Arsinoe are rarely mentioned in the papyri. Therefore he may well be identical with *Dius* the ex-*prytanis* in a fragmentary receipt of *dekaprotoi* from the Arsinoite nome: *P.Strasb.* 3.153.12 (263 CE). An Aurelius *Dius*, attested as former *exegetes* in *BGU* 2.362 (Arsinoite nome, 215/216 CE) might be related to this *Dius*, or perhaps even identical (though in the present text he would then be some 40 years older and still holding office).

– πρυτάνι: the president of the town council; cf. Bowman (n. 13) 53-67; Drecoll (n. 13) 86-94.

3 ἤκε: the same verb was used by the prefect Titinnius Clodianus in his letter to two former *exegetai* on the exception from coinciding liturgies, *P. Harrauer* 35.56-58 (= ll. 70-72 in the DDbDP) : φρ[ο]ντίσατε παραχρῆμα ἡκ[εῖν] εἰς τὴν λαμπροτάτην Ἰ[σ]τ[ρ]ίαν (Hermopolis, ca. 250 CE). The imperative form, ἤκε in the present text, is consistent with the “tono precettivo” of a prefect’s language; cf. G. Purpura, “Note introduttive allo studio del linguaggio del prefetto d’Egitto,” *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica* 1 (1998) 109-115, here 113 (mainly on edicts, but also valid for prefectural letters).

– ἢ ἄλλον ἀντὶ σοῦ: it was not unusual for a *prytanis* to have himself represented by a deputy; cf. two cases of substitution of a *prytanis* (expressed with the verb διαδέχομαι) cited by Drecoll (n. 13) 94: *P.Oxy.* 14.1662 (246 CE) and *CPR* 1.20 = *Stud.Pal.* 20.54 (250 CE, Hermopolis).

3-4 ὥστ[ε] παρ[α]τυχεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα: the word πρᾶγμα is attested in several papyri with the legal meaning of “case,” a dispute between opposing parties resolved by a court (e.g. *BGU* 1.19.1.5 = *M.Chr.* 85.1.5; *BGU* 1.361.2.4). The reading of the first part of παρ[α]τυχεῖν is not certain. Verifying παρα at the end of line 3 is difficult: the lower parts of the legs of *pi* seem certain, although a bit wide apart; the following traces are hard to reconcile with αρα, but of course the papyrus is a bit twisted there. I cannot think of any other reading or supplement. Like the word πρᾶγμα, the verb παρατυγχάνω is also attested in the context of court sessions, namely in the meaning of a person being present in court: the verb is then normally followed by a dative or preposition (e.g. *P.Tebt.* 2.303.15-17;

Tebtunis, 177-179 CE with *BL* 9.355: summons to appear at a *conventus* of the prefect). Here, however, παρ[α]|τυχεῖν is followed by τὸ πρᾶγμα. The latter word seems to be the subject here, which is why I translated παρ[α]|τυχεῖν, vaguely, with “to come up,” implicitly meaning “to come up in court.”

4-5 ὦ[νομάσθη ὅ]πό: seems the only likely and fitting supplement.

5 εἰς ἐξηγητείαν: for the function of *exegetes*, a high city magistrate who was mainly concerned with the status of citizens, see Drecoll (n. 13), 98-99 and the list of *exegetai* in Egypt in *P.Hamb.* 4, pp. 217-268 (no Mikkalos).

– Μίκκαλος: of the 77 attestations of the name Mikkalos in Trismegistos People (www.trismegistos.org/name/10623 accessed November 2016), there is only one for which place and date seem to match: Mikkalos (ID 305980) known from a revenue return stemming from Ptolemais Euergetis and dated to 276 CE, where a certain Dionysis is described as living in the house of Mikkalos: *BGU* 4.1087.v.1.8: Διονῦσις ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Μικκάλου (δραχμαὶ) η.

Appendix: *Lucius Mussius Aemilianus in the Papyri*

VICE-PREFECT, (ὁ διασημότατος/λαμπρότατος) διέπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν (ca. 255-259 CE)			
1	255/spring 256?	P.Strasb. inv. 1302	Unpublished. ²⁵
2	256/257 (year 4)	P.Strasb. 5.392	Fragment of a document mentioning (l. 5) - - - Αἰμιλιάνου τοῦ λα[μπροτάτου] διέποντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν - - - .
3	19 i 258	P.Oxy. 43.3112	Copy of a letter of Mussius Aemilianus to a <i>strategos</i> (?) about the visit of the <i>corrector Aegypti</i> Ulpius Pasio, (l. 2) Μούσσιος Αἰ[μ]ιλιανὸς δι[έ]πων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

²⁵ I owe this reference to J. Gasco and P. Heilporn.

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|--|--|
| 4 | 24 ix 258 | <i>P.Oxy.</i> 9.1201 =
<i>CLA</i> 4.233
(<i>BL</i> 6.100, 7.136,
10.141) | Petition to Mussius Aemilianus about the succession to an inheritance in Latin and Greek, (l. 1) <i>Mussio Aemiliano v(ices) a(genti) prae(fecti) Aeg(ypti)</i> , (ll. 13-14) Μουσσίωι Αἰμιλιανῶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ διέποντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. |
| 5 | 28 ii 258 or 259 | <i>P.David</i> 7 =
<i>SB</i> 20.14229
(<i>BL</i> 10.114,
12.114) | Instruction to track down murderers with reference to an order of the <i>corrector</i> Theodorus and Mussius Aemilianus (ll. 7-8) [- - - κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα (?)] ὑπό τε τοῦ διασημοτάτου Θεοδώρου ἐπανόρ[θωτοῦ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λουκίου Μουσσίου Αἰ]μιλιανοῦ διέποντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. |
| 6 | 259 ²⁶ (year 7) | <i>P.Oxy.</i> 43.3119
(<i>BL</i> 7.156, 8.265,
12.149) | Official correspondence about Christians, mentioning regnal year 7 and [- - - Αἰμιλιανοῦ] διασημοτάτου δ[ιέποντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ²⁷ . |
| 7 | (255-259) | <i>P.Dublin</i> 18
(<i>BL</i> 11.74) | Fragmentary petition to a <i>strategos</i> with reference to a previous order of Mussius Aemilianus, (ll. 5-6) Μου]σσίῳ Αἰμιλιανοῦ διέπον[τος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. |
| 8 | (255-259) | <i>P.Köln</i> 10.417
(a copy of
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 12.1468.1-4) | Writing exercise with address of a petition to Mussius Aemilianus, (ll. 1-2) [Λουκίῳ Μουσσίῳ] Αἰμιλιανῶ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ διέποντι (l. διέποντι) [τὴ]ν ἡγεμονίαν. |
| 9 | (255-259) | <i>P.Oxy.</i> 12.1468
(<i>BL</i> 3.137, 8.246) | Petition to Mussius Aemilianus concerning the ownership of slaves, (ll. 1-2) Λουκίῳ Μουσσίῳ Αἰμιλιανῶ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ διέποντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. |

²⁶ Year 7 coincides with 259/260 CE, but since Mussius Aemilianus is known to be prefect in September/October 259, a date in 260 is less likely (although reference could be made to an earlier decision of Mussius Aemilianus including his earlier title).

²⁷ Including the new supplement of L.H. Blumell, "The Date of P.Oxy. XLIII 3119," *ZPE* 186 (2013) 111-113.

10 (255-259)	<i>P.Strasb.</i> 5.393	Fragment of court proceedings mentioning Mussius Aemilianus, (l. 11) [- - - Αἰμιλία]νὸς διέπω[ν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν - - -].
11 (255-259)	<i>P.Wilrijk</i>	Letter of Mussius Aemilianus to a <i>prytanis</i> on the appointment of an <i>exegetes</i> , (l. 1) Μο[ύ]σσιος Αἰμιλιανὸς διέπων τὴν ἡ[γε]μ[ο]ν[ί]αν].
12 (255-259)	<i>P.Wisc.</i> 1.3 (<i>BL</i> 6.69, 7.99, 12.114)	Petition concerning the release from liturgies because of old age with reference to an earlier hearing of the case by Aemilianus, (ll. 4-9) προσῆλθον δὲ μετὰ τα[ῦ]τα τῷ διασημοτάτῳ διέποντι τὴν ἡγ[ε]μονίαν Μουσσίου Αἰμιλιανῷ καὶ ἔτυχον [ἐ]ξ ἀντιγραφῆς.

PREFECT, ὁ διασημότητος/λαμπρότατος ἡγεμὼν or
ὁ διασημότητος ἑπαρχος Αἰγύπτου
(ca. 259-261 CE)

13 29 ix - 28 x 259	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 2.110 (<i>BL</i> 3.160, 8.294, 10.169)	Declaration of temple property ordered by the high priest and Mussius Aemilianus, (ll. 6-7) [κελεύσαν]τος τοῦ κρατίστου ἀρχιερέω[ς] Γεσσίου Σερήνου κ[α]ὶ τοῦ διασημοτάτου [ἡγεμόνο]ς Μουσσίου Αἰμιλιανοῦ.
14 (259-260)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 46.3290	Application to the strategus for payment of wine Mussius Aemilianus had ordered as supplies for his troops, (ll. 9-13) ἐκ προστάξεω[ς] τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγεμόν[ος] Μουσσίου Α[ἰ]μιλιανοῦ εἰς χρείας [ἀννῶ]ν τῶν [ἄμ]α αὐτῷ γενναιοτάτων [στρατιωτῶν].
15 260/261	<i>PSI XX Congr.</i> 13	Petition concerning the exemption from liturgies on the grounds of old age, containing a

		copy of a previous petition to Mussius Aemilianus, (l. 5) [Μουσσίου] Αἰμιλιανῶ τῷ λ[αμπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι.
16 17 v 261	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 34.2710 (<i>BL</i> 7.152, 9.197)	Petition for a guardian (translated from Latin) directed to Mussius Aemilianus, (l. 3) Λουκίῳ Μουσσίου Αἰμιλιανῶ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου.
<hr/> PREFECT or VICE-PREFECT ²⁸ <hr/>		
17 (255-261)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 14.1637	Division of landed property, in accordance with the decision of a judge appointed by Mussius Aemilianus, (l. 9) ἐξ ἐνκελ(εύσεως) τοῦ λαμπ(ροτάτου) Μουσσίου Αἰμιλ[ιανοῦ.
18 (268-269)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 40.2938 (<i>BL</i> 8.263, 10.151)	Banker's receipt with an uncertain reference to Aemilianus, (l. 7) ἄκο-[- ca.30 -] . οὐ Αἰμιλι . . [- - -].
19 (late 3 rd cent.)	<i>SB</i> 5.8945	Fragment of court proceedings mentioning an Aemilianus, (l. 12) [- - - Αἰ]μιλιανοῦ ἐκ κελεύσεω[ς].

²⁸ In these texts no function or title is given for Mussius Aemilianus. It is argued in *P.Oxy.* 43.3112, introduction, that a lower post in Egypt, e.g. that of *iuridicus*, may have preceded Mussius Aemilianus' vice-prefecture. The three texts nos. 17-19, however, must refer to either a prefecture or vice-prefecture.

AN ORCHARD LEASE FROM THE REIGN OF HERACLIUS¹

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Abstract. — Edition of a lease of an orchard from the Arsinoite nome dating to 616 CE (P.Vindob. G 26585). This contract is between Flavius Menas, *stratelates* and pagarch of the Arsinoite and Theodosiopolite pagarchies, and Apollos alias Pareus son of Loukas. The contract refers to an earlier transaction between Menas and Georgios, *comes* and vice-landlord of Flavius Strategios Paneuphemos *patricius*.

Introduction

The document published here is a lease in the form of a *cheirographon*.² The document starts with the regnal year (sixth), the date (Mecheir 25), and the indiction (fourth). Because later in the text Flavius Strategios Paneuphemos is mentioned with the title *patricius*, a title which is first attested for him on 29 March 604, we can date this text to the reign of Heraclius.³ The object of the lease is an orchard, which can be located in

¹ This edition was originally included in my ResMA-thesis “Strategios Paneuphemos and the Elite of the Arsinoite Nome: Contributions to the Dossier of Flavios Strategios Paneuphemos” (University of Utrecht, 2015) supervised by Leonard V. Rutgers (Utrecht University) and Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk (Leiden University). It was later presented at the 28th International Congress of Papyrologists (Barcelona, 4 August 2016). I am grateful to Bernhard Palme of the Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek for permission to publish this text and for reading the final version of this article. I would also like to thank Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk, Janneke H.M. de Jong (Radboud University Nijmegen), and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions and corrections. Any remaining errors are my own.

² For the *cheirographon* and its development, see T.S. Richter, “Byzantine Sales: Some Aspects of the Development of Legal Instruments in the Later Roman and Byzantine period,” in J.G. Keenan, J.G. Manning, and U. Yiftach-Firanko (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest. A Selection of Papyrological Sources in Translation with Introductions and Commentary* (Cambridge 2014) 84-89. For a bibliography on land leases in general and references to lists of leases from Late Antiquity, see A. Papatthomas, *P.Heid.* 7.405, introd. and G. Azzarello, *P.Köln* 9.373, introd. Good examples of this scheme (and close parallels of this contract) can be found in the re-edition of *SB* 1.4483 and *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.55 + *SB* 1.4485 in S. Kovarik, “Von Zitronen, Melonen und Pfirsichen,” *APF* 53 (2007) 152-181.

³ For the development of the titulature of Flavius Strategios Paneuphemos, see B. Palme, “Die domus gloriosa des Flavius Strategios Paneuphemos,” *Chiron* 27 (1997) 101-103.

the προάστια “suburbs” of Arsinoe. Aurelius Apollos, alias Pareus, a πωμαρίτης “fruit grower” leases this orchard from Flavius Menas, a *stratelates* and the pagarch of the Arsinoite and Theodosiopolite pagarchies. The contract further informs us that the orchard, together with another orchard, had come into the possession of Menas by means of an exchange with Georgios, a hitherto unknown *comes* and vice-landlord of Flavius Strategios Paneuphemos *patricius*. This document is of particular interest since it is the only text so far that can be assigned not only to the dossier of Flavius Strategios Paneuphemos *patricius*, but also to that of Flavius Menas. Both men are known to have been pagarchs of the Arsinoite and Theodosiopolite pagarchies, but were never mentioned in the same text before. This papyrus sheds therefore some further light on the careers of both men.

Menas, the lessor of the orchard in this contract, was pagarch during the second half of the 610s and at least during the first years of the Sassanid occupation of Egypt. He is known from nine other texts so far.⁴ His name is not preserved on the papyrus, but Menas is the only known *stratelates* who was at the same time pagarch of the Arsinoite and Theodosiopolite pagarchies in the seventh century. P.Vindob. G 26585, which can be dated to 20 February 616, is at this moment the oldest dateable text of his dossier and, at the same time, the first attestation of him being pagarch. It has been suggested that Menas first became pagarch and only later, between 24 November 617 and 9 September 620 (*Stud.Pal.* 8.1048), received the title of *stratelates*, since his first appearance in *Stud.Pal.* 3.303 (24 November 617, year uncertain) was without this title.⁵ On the basis of P.Vindob. G 26585, this argument has become invalid, since he appears here with the title of both *stratelates* and pagarch.

Strategios Paneuphemos is one of the few inhabitants of Late Antique Egypt who also appears in a literary source: the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian (1126-1199).⁶ In book 10.26 of the *Chronicle*, Michael makes

⁴ For the dossier of Flavius Menas, see B. Palme, *CPR* 25, Exkurs 5, pp. 178-181, with the addition of *Stud.Pal.* 3².2.153.

⁵ Palme (n. 4) 180, n. 5, has two arguments to believe that this text, which contains only an indiction year, refers to the year 617. Firstly, Menas appears here only as pagarch and not as *stratelates*. The text should therefore be older than the other texts in which Menas is mentioned as *stratelates*. Apart from that, it is improbable that the text refers to the next indiction cycle, as it would mean that Menas was still pagarch after the reconquest of Egypt by Heraclius which is not very likely.

⁶ For a translation of the Syriac text, see J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)* 2 (Paris 1905) 381-394. For the life and work of Michael the Syrian, see G.Y. Ibrahim, *The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle*

reference to a meeting of the miaphysite patriarchs of the Churches of Alexandria and Antioch in the year 615/616. This meeting was organized by the Emperor Heraclius in order to settle a dispute between the two Churches. The meeting was presided by Nicetas, the governor of Egypt and a cousin of the Emperor Heraclius. He had sent for Strategios, a man from the Arsinoite nome, who had to mediate between both parties; thanks to his efforts, the dispute was soon settled.⁷ Strategios, however, is better known from the papyri, since he (or his *oikos*) is mentioned in approximately thirty texts.⁸

What makes this text even more interesting is the appearance of Menas as pagarch alongside Strategios. Until now, it was thought that the pagarch was appointed for life, although there was no proof of this. It was therefore assumed that Menas succeeded Strategios only after the latter's death, sometime between 616 and 24 November 617.⁹ Thanks to P.Vindob. G 26585, a different scenario in which Strategios was still alive in 625 becomes more attractive, because this papyrus shows that Menas had become pagarch while Strategios was still alive.¹⁰ This view is based on the date of *Stud.Pal.* 8.1228, a heavily mutilated papyrus fragment that mentions not much more than an eleventh and twelfth indiction, the name of

of Michael the Great, Volume 1: A Publication of St. George Parish and the Edessan Community in Aleppo (Piscataway 2009) vii-xii.

⁷ For the dispute between the Syrian and Egyptian miaphysites, see W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge 1972) 340-342; W.E. Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge 2003) 89-90.

⁸ For the dossier of Flavius Strategios Paneuphemos, see Palme (n. 3) 95-125, with the addition of *CPR* 24.25, *SB* 28.16873 and *Stud.Pal.* 10.293 (N. Gonis, "Studies on the Aristocracy of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus," *Tyche* 17 [2002] 85-97, argues that this text is part of or at least dealing with the same estate as *Stud.Pal.* 10.138). Cf. F. Morelli, "SB XXIV 16222: due patrizi e un Liciniano," *Tyche* 23 (2008) 139-157, who contends that the *SB* 24.16222 text may not belong to the dossier. The identification of Strategios as a member of the household of the Apiones from Oxyrhynchus is doubtful (N. Gonis, *P.Oxy.* 70.4786, introd.) and will therefore not be discussed here.

⁹ After Strategios had settled the dispute between the patriarchs in Alexandria in 616, as reported by Michael the Syrian, and before 24 November 617, the moment in which Menas appears as pagarch for the first time (*Stud.Pal.* 3.303). This view is expressed in Palme (n. 3) 122, n. 77 and 124, n. 91.

¹⁰ This view is expressed in F.A.J. Hoogendijk, "Der Scribo behindert die Flotte des Patricius. Ein Brief aus dem dossier des Flavius Strategios Paneuphemos (= Pseudo-Strategios III)," in A.M.F.W. Verhoogt and S.P. Vleeming (eds.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt: Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies presented to P.W. Pestman* (Leiden 1998) 27, n. 10, but is already mentioned in K.A. Worp, "Flavius Strategios, Some Notes," *ZPE* 56 (1984) 113-116. One could argue that it is possible that Strategios was dead when P.Vindob. G 26585 was drawn up. The unpublished P.Vindob. G 50349, however, shows Strategios being alive in 619. I would like to thank Sophie Kovarik for making me aware of this text.

Flavius Strategios and the heirs of a certain Kyrillos. The indiction years seem to refer either to the years 608/609-609/610 or 623/624-624/625. This Kyrillos should be identified with a *stratelates* of the same name from the Arsinoite nome. He was alive until at least 618 (*BGU* 3.725). Since one only refers to heirs when the person concerned has passed away, it is impossible that Kyrillos had heirs before 618, which would lead to the conclusion that *Stud.Pal.* 8.1228 most likely refers to the period between 623 and 625, thereby suggesting that Strategios was still alive in that period.¹¹

Description

P.Vindob. G 26585 consists of two fragments: a large fragment (fr. 1), measuring 13.9 × 19.3 cm (H × W), and a considerably smaller fragment (fr. 2, upside down on the photo), measuring 4.1 × 4.2 cm (H × W). On both fragments, the text is written on the *recto* along the fibers. The *verso* is empty. Fr. 1 is damaged by small wormholes. Besides these, the papyrus is also damaged where the papyrus has been folded. The right side is partly preserved (ll. 4-11) with a margin of 0.2-1.0 cm. The top, bottom and left sides of the fragment are broken off. On the basis of the restorations of ll. 4, 6-8, it seems likely that approximately 20 characters, or about 7.5 cm (allowing for a small margin), are missing at the left side of the fragment. Approximately 8 cm from the right side of the fragment there is a *kollesis* (left over right). There are traces of eight vertical folding lines, resulting in nine vertical panels, suggesting that the document was rolled up vertically before it was folded. Eleven lines of text are visible on the *recto* side of fr. 1. Of these lines, the first and last lines contain only some traces. Fr. 2 contains three lines of text with little more than a few traces. This fragment cannot be joined to fr. 1, but on the basis of the color of the fragment, it seems that it belonged somewhere along the bottom-left of fr. 1.

The text is written in black ink, by an experienced and fluent hand, in a Byzantine cursive with few ligatures. Close parallels of the handwriting are, for example, *BGU* 2.368 (Arsinoite nome, 25 June 614), *CPR* 24.26

¹¹ See for a more elaborate explanation: Hoogendijk (n. 10) 27, n. 10. Palme (n. 3) 122, n. 77, argues that *Stud.Pal.* 8.1228 should be dated to the period 608/609, proposing that the Kyrillos in that text was not the same as the *stratelates*. For the dossier of Kyrillos, see Trismegistos Archives (<http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/ind.php>) s.v. "Kyrillos" (accessed: January 2017).

(Arsinoite nome, 602-603 CE), and *SB* 18.13320 (Antaiopolite nome, 613-641). All letters are inclined to the right and vertical elements predominate. As far as the text is preserved, the scribe uses few abbreviations: χαί(ρην) (l. 5) and an occasional supralinear stroke to replace the last letter of a word (ll. 8 [four times], 9)

At the end of l. 6, a colon is preserved. There are only a few instances known, where this sign is used: *CPR* 8.71.4; 14.17.5; *P.Berol.* 2719.5 (seventh century, Arsinoite nome); *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67002, col. 3.22 (567, Antinopolis); *P.Batav.* 21.21 (fifth century, Oxyrhynchus).¹² In most of these cases it seems that the colon is used to divide. In the first three instances it is used in the dating clause, separating the day from the indiction year.¹³ In *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67002 it marks the beginning of a new clause, beginning with ἔπειτα, while in *P.Batav.* 21 its use is unclear. In *P.Vindob.* G 26585, the colon was used in a similar dividing way, as it marks the start of the digression on how Menas had acquired the orchards.

P.Vindob. G 26585

H × W = 13.9 × 19.3 cm

Arsinoite nome
20 February 616 CE

Fr. 1

→ [ca. 30] . . . [. . .] . [ca. 23]
[ca. 15 ἔτους] ἔκτου [vac. M]εχειρ κε τετ[ά]ρτ[ης]
ἰνδικ(τίονος)] ἐν [Ἀρ(σινόη)]
[Φλαοῖω Μηνᾶ τῷ ἐνδοξοτ]άτω στρατηλάτῃ παγάρχῳ τῆς
Ἀ[ρσ]ι[ν]οῖ[τ]ων κ[α]ὶ
[Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν Αὐρήλιο]ς Ἀπολλῶς ὁ καὶ Παρεῦς υἱὸς Λουκᾶ
π[ω]μαρίτης καὶ
5 [. ἀπὸ (κώμης?) Μοῦ]χεως τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νο[μ]οῦ
χαί(ρην). ὁμολογῶ μεμισθῶσθαι
[παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνδοξότ]ητος ἐκ τῶν περιελθ[ό]γτων εἰς αὐτῇ[ν]
πωμαρίων δύο
[ἀπὸ δικαίου ἀντικατ]αλλαγῆς γεν[ο]μένης μεταξὺ αὐτῆς τε καὶ
Γεωργίου
[τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου κ]όμετος καὶ ἀντιγεοῦχο(υ) Στρατηγί(ο)υ
τοῦ πανευφήμο(υ) πατρικί(ο)υ]

¹² I wish to thank Sophie Kovarik for providing me with the information on *P.Berol.* 2719.

¹³ S. Kovarik, *Das späantike Notariat. Kanzlei praxis des 4.-8. Jh. n. u. Z. am Beispiel Arsinoites (Mittelägypten)* (unpublished dissertation; Vienna 2014) 623, n.158.

[ca. 18] υ προασιτων τησδε της π[ό]λ[ε]ως
 [τ]ὸ ἐν πωμάριον ἐξ αὐτῶ(ν)
 10 [ca. 23] τω(ν) αμ . . . ε . () [.]
 τω . [. .] ἐπ . . ω
 [ca. 26] . [ca. 18] *traces*

Fr. 2

]τ[
] . . λιω[
]ησα[

5 αρσινόϊτου pap.; χαί(ρειν): ⲭ pap. 6 δύο: δυο : pap.

“... year 6, Mecheir 25, at the end of the fourth indiction in Arsinoe. To Flavius Menas, the most renowned *stratelates*, pagarch of the Arsinoite and Theodosiopolite pagarchies, Aurelius Apollos, alias Pareus, son of Loukas, fruit grower and ... from (the village of ?) Mouchis of the Arsinoite nome, greetings. I acknowledge that I have leased from your gloriousness from the two orchards that have come down to you by right of exchange, which took place between you and Georgios, the most magnificent *comes* and vice-landlord of Strategios the all praise-worthy patrician, ... of the suburbs of this city the one of these orchards ...”

1-2 These lines contained the invocation formula and the regnal dating formula. Only two downward strokes are visible in l. 1. Because the text is dated to the reign of Heraclius (see introduction), presumably the document opened with the invocation of Christ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν “In the name of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ son of God and our Savior.” This was the only type of invocation used during the reign of Heraclius in the Lower Egyptian nomes. There are, however, attestations of several variants of this invocation, making it impossible to restore it in the text.¹⁴ The following regnal formula cannot be constructed with certainty either,

¹⁴ For the invocations in Lower Egypt during the reign of Heraclius, see R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Leiden 2004) 292.

as during the reign of Heraclius there were at least four different formulas in use in the Arsinoite nome.¹⁵

The fragment starts with the end of the dating clause, which is heavily damaged. The 25th of Mecheir in the sixth year of Heraclius (= fourth indiction) corresponds with 20 February 616. Somewhat problematic is the reading of τετ[ά]ρτ[ης]. There seems to have been a fairly large gap before the third τ, of which only the lower part of the downward stroke is visible. A different reading in which τετάρτης is abbreviated after the ρ and in which the last downward stroke should be read as a ι (τετ[ά]ρ[(της)] ἱ[νδικτιονος]) is not compelling. This would leave too much space open before the ε and the ν, the letters that are visible on the snippet of papyrus that belong to ἐν Ἀρ(σινόῃ).¹⁶

3 [Φλαουίω Μηνῶ]: See introduction. It is unlikely that “Flavius” was abbreviated, since the scribe seems to prefer to write everything in full and there is enough space in the lacuna.

– ἐνδοξοτ[ά]τω: The status designation ἐνδοξότατος “the most renowned” (*gloriosissimus*) was used at the end of the Late Antique and the beginning of the Arab period to designate people of the highest social ranks. The rank was only exceeded by the honorary consular rank and the rank of *patricius*. In the papyri, only *duces*, *comites*, *stratelatai*, and pagarchs appear with this designation.¹⁷

– στρατηλάτ[η]: The term *stratelates* is the Greek equivalent of the Latin *magister militum*. Initially, this title was used to designate the *magistri militum*, the commanders in chief of the armies after Constantine. In the fifth and sixth centuries, the title was also honorific, without any military connotations. Menas shared this title with, among others, *duces*.¹⁸

– παγάρχω: The office of pagarch was created at the end of the fifth century, most likely during the reign of Anastasius (491-518), and can

¹⁵ For the different regnal formulas during Heraclius’ reign, see Bagnall & Worp (n. 14) 267-271.

¹⁶ The snippet, on which the ε and ν are visible, seems to have been restored correctly. For the ἐν Ἀρ(σινόῃ) clause, see N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, “Zur Auflösung der Kürzung ἐν Ἀρ() in den Papyri,” *Tyche* 18 (2003) 55-57.

¹⁷ For the epithet ἐνδοξότατος, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden. Ein Beitrag zum römischen und byzantinischen Titelwesen* (Gießen 1930) 8-11; *CPR* 24.30, n. 5.

¹⁸ J. Durliat, “Magister militum – στρατηλάτης dans l’empire byzantin (VI^e - VII^e siècles),” *ByzZeit* 72 (1979) 306-320; A.P. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford 1991) 2.1266-1267 (s.v. “Magister militum”), 3.1965 (s.v. “Stratelates”).

best be seen in the light of his taxation reforms.¹⁹ The pagarch's main function was fiscal, as he was responsible for the collection of imperial taxes in the city territories that did not have *autopragia*.²⁰ He was appointed directly by the praetorian prefect of the East, with consent of the emperor, making his position independent of the governor and duke of Egypt. Unlike the position of governor and duke, who were appointed for a year, the pagarch remained in function for a longer period of time, though not necessarily for life as the present text shows (see introduction).²¹

3-4 τῆς Ἀ[ρσ]ι[νο]ιτῶν κ[α]ὶ | [Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν: At the beginning of l. 4 Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν can be restored since between at least 556 (*BGU* 1.305) and 622 CE (*CPR* 19.32) the Arsinoite and Theodosiopolite pagarchies were combined under one pagarch. Both of these pagarchies can be located in the province of Arcadia, according to the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles (fifth century), the *Descriptio Orbis Romani* of Georgius Cyprius (early seventh century), and *P.Oxy.* 51.3636, a tax account from fifth-century Oxyrhynchus. Theodosiopolis was most likely the new name for Tebtynis, located in the south of the Polemon district. For a long time, there were only two reasons for this assumption. Firstly, settlement names from the papyri that mention the Theodosiopolite pagarchy indicate that it comprised an area carved out of the old Arsinoite nome, more specifically, that it followed the borders of the former Polemon district. Secondly, the name Tebtynis does not appear in the papyri between the second half of the fifth century and the Arab period, when Theodosiopolis appears.²²

¹⁹ For the origin of the pagarchy, see J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz "The Origin of the Office of Pagarch," *ByzZeit* 66 (1973) 38-46; R. Mazza "Ricerche sul pagarca nell'Egitto tardo-antico e bizantino," *Aegyptus* 75 (1995) 171-180. For the reforms of Anastasius in general, see P. Grierson, "The Monetary Reforms of Anastasius and Their Economic Consequences," in A. Kindler (ed.), *The Patterns of Monetary Development in Phoenicia and Palestine in Antiquity* (Tel-Aviv 1967) 284-291; C. Morrison, "Monnaie et prix à Byzance du V^e au VII^e siècle," in C. Abadie-Reynal et al. (eds.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin*, vol. 1 (Paris 1989) 239-260.

²⁰ For *autopragia*, see J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Égypte byzantine: recherches d'histoire agraire, fiscale et administrative," *Travaux & Mémoires* 9 (1985) 38-52; J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001) 89-100; P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2006) 149-176.

²¹ For the role of the pagarch in Late Antique Egypt, see Liebeschuetz (n. 19); J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, "The Pagarch: City and Imperial Administration in Byzantine Egypt," *JJP* 18 (1974) 163-168; Mazza (n. 19) 169-242; M. Stern, "Der Pagarch und die Organisation des öffentlichen Sicherheitswesens im byzantinischen Ägypten," *Tyche* 30 (2015) 119-144.

²² G. Fantoni, *CPR* 14.41-48. Currently there are two exceptions known to us: *Stud.Pal.* 10.138.9 (600-620), mentioning Τεπτύνις, and P.Vindob. G 21044 (currently in preparation for publication by J.H.M. de Jong), which dates to the Arab period, mentioning

More recently, further evidence is found in the form of P.Lips. inv. FF3, a loan of money with both parties coming from Theodosiopolis. This document is the only one so far that can be assigned with some confidence to Tebtynis.²³

4 Αὐρήλιος Ἀπολλῶς ὁ καὶ Παρεὺς υἱὸς Λουκᾶ: Apollos is further identified in two ways: by a second name and a patronymic. Besides for the identification of individuals, double names, connected by ὁ καὶ / ὃς καί, were used during the Roman period to differentiate the more privileged members of society (the gymnasial order). This made the double name status indicators by themselves.²⁴ The use of double names in the Late Antique period has not yet been studied. It seems clear, however, that Apollos was not a privileged member of society since he was a commoner, as the status designation Αὐρήλιος shows.²⁵ Identification seems to have been the main reason for writing down the double name here.²⁶ The name Ἀπολλῶς is, according to Trismegistos People, extremely common throughout Egypt. Παρεὺς(ς), on the other hand, is rarely attested.²⁷ Thus it seems probable that Apollos' identity in this contract is specified by the use of his second name Pareus. His identity was further specified by the patronymic Λουκᾶς. This name is only attested once in the Arsinoite nome after the third century, *SB* 6.9588.14.²⁸

4-5 π[ω]μαρίτης κ[α]ῖ | [.]: It seems likely that Apollos had a double occupation, since π[ω]μαρίτης “fruit grower” is followed by καί, of which only the lower part of the κ and the downward stroke of the ι can be seen. καί cannot have been followed by the name of another lessee, since the acknowledgement is written in the first person singular (ὁμολογῶ, l. 5).

the name Theodosiopolis. It is, however, possible that these old names were still in use, as is suggested in T.M. Hickey, “Down and Out in Late Antique Tebtynis?” in S.L. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Fayum: Texts and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Third International Fayum Symposium, Freudenstadt, May 29-June 1, 2007* (Wiesbaden 2008) 136.

²³ Hickey (n. 22) 135-142.

²⁴ Y. Broux, “Double Names and Elite Strategy in Roman Egypt,” *Studia Hellenistica* 54 (2015) 268-285.

²⁵ J.G. Keenan, “The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt,” *ZPE* 11 (1973) 51-63.

²⁶ D. Hobson, “Naming Practices in Roman Egypt,” *BASP* 26 (1989) 157-174.

²⁷ Trismegistos People s.v. “Apollos” and “Pareus” (accessed: January 2017). For the name Pareus, see Heuser 37 and *NB Dem.* 1.1.389 (s.v. “*pa-r-r-w^d*”).

²⁸ J.M. Diethart, *Prosopographia Arsinoitica* 1 (Vienna 1980) 194, no. 3275. For the commonality of rare names, see G. Ruffini, “The Commonality of Rare Names in Byzantine Egypt,” *ZPE* 158 (2006) 213-225.

Fruit growers (πωμαρῖται) do not appear frequently in documents. The reason for this scarcity is unknown, but it is certainly not because there were no orchards in Egypt. Especially the Faiyum with its extensive network of canals and dykes that made perennial watering possible, was known as a fruit-producing center.²⁹ What Menas' other occupation could have been remains a mystery. There is little papyrological evidence for people having multiple occupations. This is most likely due to the fact that in many documents only the most relevant occupation for that particular document is mentioned.³⁰

5 ἀπὸ (κώμης?) Μού]χεως τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νο[μ]οῦ: The usual phrase following the name and occupation of the lessee is: ἀπὸ + type of settlement (optional, but often included) + name of the settlement + name of the nome (optional). In this text, the last part of the name of the settlement]χεως and the name of the nome is extant.³¹ There are only four place-names in the Arsinoite nome that have this ending: Andromachis, Lysimachis, Mouchis, and Psinachis.³² The village of Psinachis disappears from the papyri after the third century and Andromachis a century later, making them unlikely candidates.³³ Lysimachis has appeared only once so far in the seventh century, as an *epoikion* (CPR 12.37.3).³⁴ Mouchis, on the other hand, appears often in the papyri. For example, Stud.Pal. 32.1.56.2, a receipt from the sixth or seventh century, reads ἀπὸ κώμης] Μού]χεως τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομο[ῦ].

Different villages existed in Egypt with the name Mouchis, the one in the Arsinoite nome being most attested. This village can be located to the

²⁹ J.G. Manning, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge 2003) 30, 107; P. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State: The World of a Mid-Eighth Century Egyptian Official* (Oxford 2013) 29-30. A. Monson, "Salinization and Agricultural Productivity in the Fayyûm," in C. Arlt and M.A. Stadler (eds.), *Das Fayyûm in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit: Fallstudien zu multikulturellem Leben in der Antike* (Wiesbaden 2013) 123-140, argues that the perennial irrigation suggests that a larger area could be used for agriculture, but that a side effect was that due to the ongoing salinization the fertility per unit of land dropped.

³⁰ E.g. farmer (γεωργός) and carpenter (τέκτων) in SB 14.12131.3 (553), and potter (κεραμεύς) and carpenter (τέκτων) in SB 22.15749.1-2 (sixth century).

³¹ The reading]σεως seems unlikely, as a slight trace of ink is visible above the point where the two lines cross.

³² These place names are found with help of the database of the site of the Faiyum project of the K.U. Leuven (search term: "chis"): <http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/index.php> (accessed: January 2017).

³³ For Psinachis, see Calderini-Daris, *Diz.geogr.* Suppl. 5.112 (s.v. "Ψινᾶχίς"); for Andromachis, see Calderini-Daris, *Diz.geogr.* Suppl. 5.14 (s.v. "Ἀνδρομαχίς").

³⁴ Calderini-Daris, *Diz.geogr.* Suppl. 4.83 (s.v. "Λυσιμαχίς"); Timm 3.1497-1498 (s.v. "Lysimachi[do]s").

south or south west of the capital of the Arsinoite nome, in the old *meris* of Polemon, and appears from the Ptolemaic period onwards.³⁵ It is impossible to say whether κώμης was written or not. Since the scribe was careful in the description of the leasing party (double names, double occupations), we have opted for this reconstruction. This leaves a space of 9 characters for the second occupation.

6 παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνδοξότητος: Since Menas is referred to as ἐνδοξότατος in the address, one expects the scribe to have written παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνδοξότητος “from your gloriousness” (cf. *CPR* 19.32.9-10). The abstract ἡ ἐνδοξότης was often used as form of address for people of high standing, both earthly and spiritual.³⁶

– ἐκ τῶν περιελθ[ό]ντων εἰς αὐτή[ν]: Instead of directly mentioning the object of lease, the scribe starts a relative clause in which he states how the object of the current lease had come into the possession of Menas in the first place. The pronoun αὐτήν refers to Menas’ title ἡ ἐνδοξότης (for the sake of clarity here translated as “you”). The object of lease can be found in l. 9 ([τ]ὸ ἐν πωμάριον ἐξ αὐτῶ(ν)). A reason for mentioning the way of acquisition was to avoid that others could claim the orchard as their own. There are so far only two direct parallels for this phrase: *SB* 6.9193.9, a contract for the sale of land from sixth-century Hermopolis, which has περιελθόν<τα> εἰς ἐμὲ ἀπὸ δικαίου ἀντικαταλλαγῆς), and *P.Mich.* 11.612.10-11 (514), an Oxyrhynchite contract for the lease of a house, with περιελθόντων εἰς αὐτήν ἀπὸ δικαίου ἀντικ[ατα]λλαγῆς. In two other instances, *P.Oxy.* 63.4390.8-9 (Oxyrhynchus, 469) and *SB* 22.15606.9-10 (Hermopolis, late sixth – early seventh century), a similar phrase is used, but the way of acquisition is different, as the property was acquired earlier through inheritance (ἀπὸ δικαίου κληρονομίας). In *SB* 24.15969.9-10 (Hermopolis, late fifth – early sixth century), a sale of slaves, it is stated that the slaves have been acquired by sale at an earlier point (ἀπὸ δικαίου ἀγορασίας).

– πωμαρίων: The word πωμάριον (*pomarium* < *pomum* “fruit”) and its cognates appears for the first time in papyri from the Roman period. In the Ptolemaic period, orchards were generally known as παράδεισοι. This term was still in use in the Roman and Byzantine period, besides

³⁵ Timm 2.889-890 (s.v. “Dumūšīya”); Calderini-Daris, *Diz.geogr.* Suppl. 5.62-63 (s.v. “Μοῦχης”).

³⁶ H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen* (Helsingfors 1949) 88.

πωμάριον.³⁷ As in Latin, πωμάριον is a general term, which does not specify the kinds of fruits cultivated. There are only a few papyri indicating what was being grown in these orchards. *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67170.18-21 (Antaeopolite nome, 562-564) mentions olive trees and date palms (πωμάριον ... σὺν ... ἔλαιῳνι καὶ φοίνιξι); *P.Hamb.* 3.222.13-14 (Hermopolite nome, sixth – seventh centuries), mentions date palms and other unspecified plants (πωμάριον σὺν φυτοῖς διαφόροις καὶ φοίνιξι); *SB* 1.4483.6-7 (Arsinoite nome, 621) and *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.55 + *SB* 1.4485.10-11 (Arsinoite nome, 630) also mention date palms and other plants. It is clear from the latter two texts – both leases – that different kinds of trees were growing in the same orchard.³⁸ From these contracts we know that the lessee was sometimes obliged to give the lessor, in addition to the rent, various kinds of fruits, herbs and vegetables. It is likely that these were also grown on the leased plots of land. They both mention λάχανον, coriander, mint, βελόκιον, lemon, melon, pomegranate, and peach.³⁹

7 [ἀπὸ δικαίου ἀντικατ]αλλαγῆς: Menas had acquired the orchards by a lawful exchange of property rights with Georgios. Exchanges of property rights, or barter, were initially not documented, but this changed from the third century CE onward. Movable and immoveable objects could be bartered.⁴⁰ Often, these exchanges of property rights are between siblings, but that does not seem the case here.⁴¹ The exact details of the transaction between Menas and Georgios – for example, what was exchanged for the orchards and whether there was an additional payment in money – are not clear.

³⁷ M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Munich 1925) 312.

³⁸ Both texts are re-edited in Kovarik (n. 2) 152-181.

³⁹ On λάχανον, see H.-J. Drexhage, "Λάχανον und λαχανοπῶλαι im römischen Ägypten (1.-3. Jh.n.Chr.)," *MBAH* 9 (1990) 88-117, in which it is suggested that it is an unknown vegetable or group of vegetables, often used in the oil production. R.S. Bagnall, "Vegetable Seed Oil Is Sesame Oil," *CdE* 75 (2000) 133-136, hypothesizes that the term was used for green vegetables, but when it refers to monthly rations, stored goods, or oil-making, for sesame. F. Morelli, "Il λαχανόσπερμον, il ραφανέλαιον, e il sesamo: olii e oleaginose fantasma," *ZPE* 149 (2004) 138-142, shows that the term λαχανόσπερμον seems to refer to more than just sesame oil. For βελόκιον, which could be perhaps some kind of bean, see Kovarik (n. 2) 162.

⁴⁰ On property exchanges, see R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Graeco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (Warsaw 1955) 398; O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Turin 1973) 232; J. Gascou, "Les papyrus Lycopolites de l'Académie des Inscriptions," *Pap.Congr.XXII* 545; S.L. Lippert, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte* (Berlin 2008) 95, 156. For a list of property exchanges, see *P.Kellis* 30, introd. See also *P.Oxy.* 55.3805.65-66n.

⁴¹ *CPR* 14.13, introd.

7-8 Γεωργίου | [τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου κ]όμετος καὶ ἀντιγεούχο(υ) Στρατηγί(ο)υ τοῦ πανευφήμο(υ) πατρικί(ο)υ): Based on the restorations of ll. 3 and 4, there is space for approximately 18-22 letters. The epithet μεγαλοπρεπέστατος seems the only possibility.⁴² From the sixth century onwards, this epithet was often used in combination with the title of κόμης.⁴³ Moreover, in the Arsinoite nome it seems to have been used by aristocrats to describe their highest-ranking estate administrators.⁴⁴

The term ἀντιγεούχος “vice-landlord” was used to denote one of the highest functionaries of an estate. Most of what we know about the office of ἀντιγεούχος comes from the correspondence of Viktor, an ἀντιγεούχος of the household of the Apiones, in the beginning of the seventh century. His main task was to supervise the *oikos* of the Apiones, which meant that he was active in diverse matters. He was tasked with, for example, directing labor between different estate properties, sanctioning payments to estate workers and preventing assaults on estate landholdings and possessions.⁴⁵ He stood at the top of the estate management pyramid, with a number of chief agents (διοικηταί) under him, who, each in their turn managed a dozen lesser agents (προνοηταί).⁴⁶

The titles borne by Georgios are elaborate, especially since he is not one of the parties in the contract. It is possible that this part of the document was copied from another contract, that is, the one between Menas and Georgios, acknowledging the barter of the two orchards. It seems likely that the scribe had (a copy of) this barter-contract close at hand.

The Georgios of our text can perhaps be identified with another Georgios on account of his connection with Strategios Paneuphemos, although the name is too common to allow any certainty. A Georgios appears in *Stud.Pal.* 10.138, a list of entries. Every entry starts with a name of a *dioiketes*, followed by an amount of *artabai*. Under each name there is a list of place names. The functionaries seem to have been responsible for the collection of these *artabai*.⁴⁷ Furthermore, it has been argued that

⁴² Theoretically, the epithet ὑπέρλαμπρότατος could also fill the gap. This epithet, however, is only used for the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, if the word was used at all. J.M. Diethart, D. Feissel, and J. Gascou, “Les prôtokolla des papyrus byzantins du V^e au VII^e siècle: Édition, prosopographie, diplomatique,” *Tyche* 9 (1994) 24-25 argue that this word does not appear in papyri and that ὑπέρλαμπρος should be read instead (=BL 10. 217).

⁴³ Hornickel (n. 17) 28-29.

⁴⁴ Banaji (n. 20) 187-188.

⁴⁵ Sarris (n. 20) 75.

⁴⁶ E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931) 189-190.

⁴⁷ Banaji (n. 20) 145-149.

these functionaries belonged to the *oikos* of Strategios Paneuphemos.⁴⁸ In what is left of the text, the name Georgios appears twice, probably because he is responsible for the *artabai*-collection in two areas of the estate. If it is true that the document refers to the estate of Strategios Paneuphemos, it seems likely that this Georgios is identical with the one in P.Vindob. G 26585. In that case, *Stud.Pal.* 10.138 should be assigned a date before P.Vindob. G 26585, as Georgios was still a *dioiketes* and not yet promoted to *anticheouchos*.

8 Στρατηγί(ο) τοῦ πανευφήμο(υ) πατρικί(ο)υ: For Strategios, see introduction. From the earliest attestation onwards, this Strategios is described as πανεύφημος, “all praise-worthy.” This title is probably an honorary, not an official, title.⁴⁹ It is possible that it is the Greek equivalent of Latin *famossissimus*.⁵⁰ This title was used for the governor after the Arab conquest.⁵¹

– πατρίκιος: According to Zosimus, the title *patricius* was created during the reign of Constantine. It was a high honorific title that could only be granted by the emperor himself and was not hereditary. In the Eastern Roman Empire, the title of *patricius* often appears as an honorific title, unconnected to any special functions. This remained the case until the title disappeared in the 12th century. Bearers of this title in the East had a privileged status under the *illustres* in the Senate of Constantinople and they were seen as the most powerful people in the empire, after the imperial family.⁵² It has been suggested that Strategios received the title from the Emperor Phocas after his ascension to the imperial throne on 27 November 602. The reason why he received it is unknown, but we know that Apion, the head of the household of the wealthy Apiones in Oxyrhynchus, received the same title around the same time.⁵³

9 ἢ προάστια τῆςδε τῆς πόλ[ε]ως: The word προάστια does not occur often in the papyri. Most attestations are from the sixth and seventh century. There seems to be a difference between the singular and plural forms. The singular is used to refer to the countryside of large estate holders, while the plural refers to the suburbs of cities. This was the area outside the walls or borders, which still belonged to the city. In

⁴⁸ Palme (n. 3) 109-112, cf. Banaji (n. 20) 145-149.

⁴⁹ Hornickel (n. 20) 30-31.

⁵⁰ Palme (n. 3) 97, n. 5.

⁵¹ Cf. e.g. *CPR* 22.54.2.

⁵² W. Heil, *Der konstantinische Patriziat* (Basel/Stuttgart 1966) 37-67.

⁵³ Palme (n. 3) 101-102.

this area, there was space for the cultivation of crops, monasteries, habitation and cemeteries.⁵⁴ The city to which the προάστια belonged must be the city of Arsinoe, since this is the only *polis* mentioned in the contract and also because it is the only place in the Faiyum that is known to have had προάστια.⁵⁵

The gap before προαστίων should be filled with the exact location of the orchards within these suburbs, most likely a πεδίων “plain.” The phrase used for this is ἐν πεδίῳ + name of the plain cf. *SB* 16.12481.12 (Arsinoite nome, 668) and, in particular, the abovementioned *SB* 1.4483.5-6 (Arsinoite nome, 621) and *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.55 + *SB* 1.4485.9-10 (Arsinoite nome, 630). Several plains are located in the suburbs of Arsinoe: the plain of Tantalos (ἐν πεδίῳ Ταντάλου [15 letters]: *SB* 1.4483.5-6; *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.55 + *SB* 1.4485.9-10), and the plain of Kolymbos (ἐν πεδίῳ Κολύμβου [15 letters]: *BGU* 1.303.10 [586]). Slightly longer and therefore a better candidate to fill the gap is the plain of Koukkoumios (ἐν πεδίῳ Κουκκουμίου [18 letters]), which appears in *SB* 16.12481.12 (668). It may be a coincidence, but this text, a lease of an orchard, is between a certain Abraham and Petterios. This Petterios is known to have been the pagarch of the Arsinoite nome and he was married to the daughter of Menas.⁵⁶ Hence there is a slight chance that both documents mention the same orchard.

– [τ]ὸ ἐν πωμάριον ἐξ αὐτῶν: Although the next line is not readable, the object of the lease is probably followed by the qualities of the orchard. Parallels to this can be found in the already mentioned *SB* 16.12481, *SB* 1.4483, and *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.55 + *SB* 1.4485. It is not likely that after the description of the first orchard a description of the second one followed, as ἐκ in l. 6 seems to indicate that only one of them was leased out.

10]τω(ν) αμ . . . ε . () [: Most likely there follows here a description of the orchard. The line is, however, too damaged to read complete words. The supralinear stroke above the ω is almost invisible on the photo, but clear traces of ink can be seen under the microscope. After the ε and before the large gap, a supralinear stroke is also visible. The letter under it is broken off. It seems likely that this is a word ending in ω(ν), so agreeing in case and number with the earlier τω(ν), but this is not certain.

⁵⁴ G. Husson, “Recherches sur le sens mot ‘proastion’ dans le grec d’Égypte,” *Recherches de Papyrologie* 4 (1967) 187-200; R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London 2002) 108-109; A. Jördens, “Ein oxyrhynchitisches *proastion*,” *ZPE* 200 (2016) 470-480.

⁵⁵ Kovarik (n. 2) 158.

⁵⁶ Palme (n. 4) 178-181.

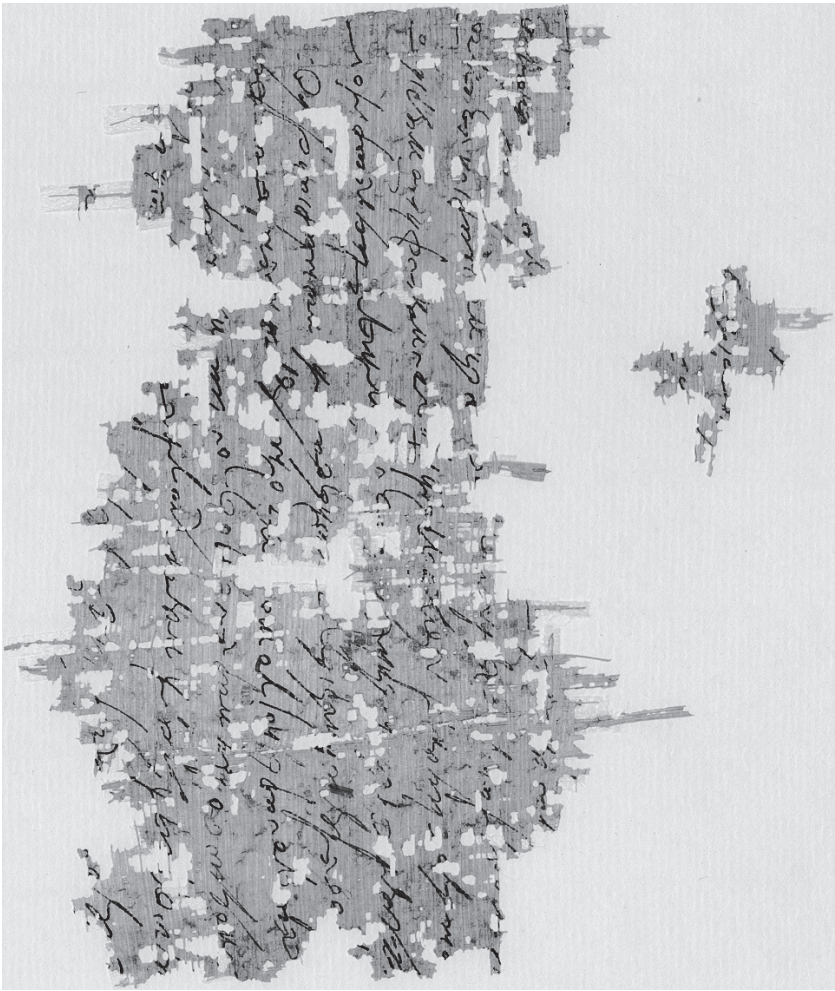


Fig. 1: P.Vindob. G 26585, courtesy Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek

FIVE TAX RECEIPTS FROM DJEME IN THE COLLECTION OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY¹

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Abstract. — Edition of five Coptic tax receipts from the village Djeme (western Thebes) written between 717 and 725 CE. All receipts are for the poll tax (*diagraphon*) and are written by the same scribe, Psate son of Pisrael.

From the village Djeme (Medinet Habu) survives a large body of Coptic and Greek tax receipts dated to the second and third decades of the 8th century.² The five receipts edited here, in the collection of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Columbia University,³ were written by one of the main scribes of the village's tax receipts, Psate son of

¹ I would like to thank Jane Siegl for her assistance with my work in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Columbia University. All images are reproduced here courtesy of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York (some of which, and hopefully soon all, are also available online via APIS). I would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers and the editors for their comments and suggestions.

² Recent years have seen the publication of large numbers of receipts from Djeme, notably *P.Stras.Copt.* 27-66 (which include both Greek and Coptic receipts), as well as, e.g., A. Delattre and N. Vanthieghem, "Sept reçus de taxe thébains du VIII^e siècle," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 16 (2014) 90-102, and J. Cromwell, *Recording Village Life: A Coptic Scribe in Early Islamic Egypt* (Ann Arbor, in press), Appendix II. More receipts from collections across Europe are currently being prepared for publication by Nikolaos Gonis, while a group of receipts in the Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan, also await publication (on these, see T.G. Wilfong "New Texts in Familiar Hands: Unpublished Michigan Coptic Ostraca by Known Scribes," in M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet [eds], *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium* [Leuven 2004] 545-552). Given the vast number of unpublished texts in Columbia University's collection, it is quite possible that more receipts remain to be discovered here.

³ Columbia purchased its Coptic ostraca from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1958 and 1961. Receipt nos. 1 and 2 are part of a group of 55 Greek and Coptic ostraca from Medinet Habu that T.M. Davis gave to the MMA in 1913. The remaining three receipts were acquired together with material that for the most part derived from dumps at Deir el-Bahari (acc. 64.2.1-65.3.112); their presence within this group demonstrates that not all the material came from one site, as their Medinet Habu provenance is surely without question. On the acquisition of the material, see E.R. O'Connell, "Ostraca from Late Antique Western Thebes: Provenance and History of the Collections at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Columbia University," *BASP* 42 (2006) 113-137; see especially pp. 127-128 for questions concerning the homogeneity of the Deir el-Bahari group.

Pisrael.⁴ While only two of the receipts bear his signature (nos. 4 and 5), they can certainly be attributed to him on paleographic, linguistic,⁵ and chronological grounds. The relevant criteria will be discussed with each text. All receipts are for the poll tax (*diagraphon*) and they provide new additions to the prosopography of western Thebes. The texts are presented according to their O.Col. inventory number, while their key details are summarized in chronological order in the table at the end of the article.

1. Receipt for Philotheos

O.Col. inv. 82 (acc. 14.6.162) H × W = 10.3 × 9.2 cm 12 July 725
Tan clay

This receipt, despite the loss of a signature (if one were ever written) can most probably be attributed to Psate, rather than the scribe who replaced him as the principal tax receipt writer within the village, Johannes son of Lazarus. While both Psate and Johannes followed the same formulae, their hands are not the same. This receipt is among the last that Psate wrote and is one of a small number that he produced in indiction year 9, the others being *P.Stras.Copt.* 40, 41, 42, 62 (and probably the unsigned 39).⁶ Johannes did not start to write tax receipts until the end of indiction year 9, in Phamenoth and Pharmoute (March and April 726), and this chronological aspect of the Djeme tax receipts further supports the attribution of the current receipt to Psate.⁷ The taxpayer, Philotheos son of Patkoulol, is otherwise unattested.

One particularly interesting aspect of this receipt is the line at the bottom, now faint, which is written at 180° to the rest of the text. The line bears the standard opening formula of a receipt and is certainly written in the same hand as the rest of the text. It is possible that Psate initially began to write the receipt with the ostrakon held in this orientation, but then changed his mind, erased the text, and turned the sherd 180°.⁸

⁴ For Psate, see most recently the discussion in *P.Stras.Copt.*, pp. 231-234.

⁵ Delattre and Fournet in their introduction to *P.Stras.Copt.* 27-66 outline idiosyncratic features of Psate's texts; see pp. 232-234.

⁶ Until the publication of these texts in 2014, the only receipt bearing his signature and for taxes of year 8 was *O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 384, but the date is lost and it may also have been written in year 9. Psate may also have written the unsigned *O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 292 (for taxes of year 9 and written in the same year).

⁷ For the chronology of Psate's receipts, see *P.Stras.Copt.*, pp. 231-232.

⁸ I would like to acknowledge the anonymous reviewer for this observation; I had failed to turn the sherd around in an attempt to make sense of this line.

- + ΕΙΣ ΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ(ΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ)
 ἄριθμοῖς ἀρεῖ ἐτο-
 οτὴν ζῆτοοτκ ντοκ
 φιλοθεος πατκοῦλο
 5 ζα πεκδιαγραφον ζῖ
 τιπροτα καταβολη ντι-
 ρομπε οκτοης ινα(ικτιων)ο(ς)
 Ἐπιφ ιη ινδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) θ +
 + πετρος παπη
 10 στοιχεῖ +

At 180°

[[+ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ(ΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ)]]

1 ζολοκ, ostr. 6 ι. πρωτη. 7 ι. ογδοης; ινα,° ostr. 8 ινδ,° ostr. 11 ζολοκ,
 ostr.

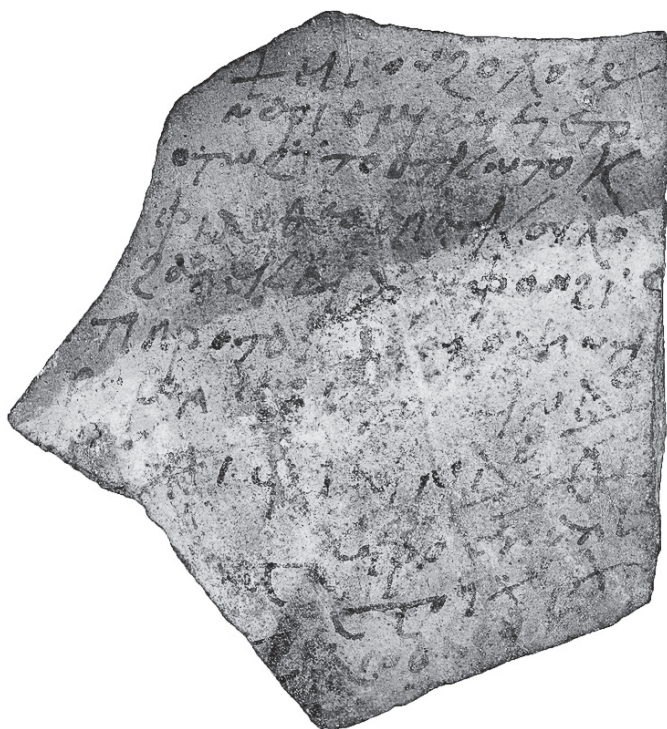


Fig. 1: O.Col. inv. 82, courtesy Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University

“+ Here is one counted *holokottinos*. It has come to us from you, Philotheos (son of) Patkoulol for your poll tax in the first collection of the eighth indiction year. Epiph 18, indiction year 9. + Petros the *ape* signs. +

(At 180°) [[+ Here is one counted *holokottinos*]]”

2 **ΝΑΡΙΘΜΙΑΦΕΙ**: Haplography of **α** is rare, but also occurs in *O.Vind.Copt.* 71 (signed by Psate) and *O.Crum* 414 (unsigned, but attributed to Psate).

4 **ΠΑΤΚΟΥΛΟΛ**: This is an otherwise unknown name, although note the similar **ΠΑΤΚΑΛΕ** in *O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 17.2-3. Etymologically, the name is connected to the toponym ‘the Cup’ (**ΚΟΥΛΟΛ**), the designation given to the monastery situated at the top of Deir el-Bakhit, and after which a street was named within the village. I understand this as a personal name, rather than a designation of Philotheos’ affiliation with that monastery, based on parallels with other such names, connected with different toponyms. Note, for example, **ΠΑΤΑΠΗ/ΠΑΤΑΠΕ**, etymologically “the one of Ape” (that is, modern Luxor),⁹ which occurs several times in Theban documents: *BKU* 1.78.1; *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 1.43/2.7; *O.Crum* 290.5.7; *O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 60.13; *P.KRU* 71; *P.Moscow Copt.* 49.2.4, 76.2; *P.Schutzbriefe* 19.18.

6 **ΠΡΟΤΑ: ΠΡΩΤ(Η)** is Psate’s standard writing (see nos. 2.8, 4.5, and the full writing in no. 5.5) but both **ο** and **α** here are clear.¹⁰

9 There are several references to a Petros the *ape*, but none previously are for the 9th indiction year.¹¹

⁹ For Ape, see the references in T.G. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor, MI 2002) 1 and 8.

¹⁰ The writing **ΠΡΩΤ(Η)** is so common that it seems redundant to cite the relevant examples here; the full writing **ΠΡΩΤΗ** is much less common, although see also *O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 388.5 and *O.Vind.Copt.* 74.6, both of which bear Psate’s signature. In contrast, Johannes son of Lazarus switched between writings with **ο** (*O.Camb.* 138.5, *SB Kopt.* 1.254.4-5; *SB Kopt.* 2.1014.4, 1020.5) and **ω** (*O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 274.6; *SB Kopt.* 1.255.4; *P.Stras.Copt.* 53.4-5), but never wrote a final **α**.

¹¹ See W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden aus Theben* (Vienna 1962) 174, plus *O.Ashm.Copt.* 4, O.Or.Inst.Mus. 30023 and 30025 (T.G. Wilfong, “Greek and Coptic Texts from the Oriental Institute Museum Exhibition ‘Another Egypt’,” *BASP* 29 [1992] 91-93), *O.Petr.Mus.* 558, *SB Kopt.* 1.237, *SB Kopt.* 2.1012 and 1013, and an ostrakon in a private collection in Sweden published in M. Müller, “Coptic Texts from a Private Collection in Sweden,” *CdÉ* 91 (2016) 421-423 (no. 1).

2. Receipt for Stephanos and Psan

O.Col. inv. 109 (acc. 7.13)

H × W = 14.5 × 7.2 cm

26 June 724

Tan clay with greenish glaze

This is an unusual example of a tax receipt written for two people, of which only a small number of cases are known.¹² The patronymics of the tax payers in this receipt are not the same, and so it is unlikely that these are family members paying their taxes together, but why a single receipt would be written for several people is not clear, based on the small number of known examples. The receipt is for two *holokottinoi*, and it is most likely that each man paid one *holokottinos*, which is the standard individual payment in Psate's poll tax receipts. The combination of paleography and date allows this receipt to be securely attributed to Psate son of Pisrael (see commentary to line 12).

- + ΕΙΣ ΣΝΑΥ ΝΖΟΛ-
 ΟΚ(ΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ) ΝΑΡΙΘΜΙΑ
 ΑΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ ΖΙ-
 ΤΟΟΤΤΗΥΤΝ
 5 ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΨΗΣ
 ΜΝ ΨΑΝ ΣΑΜΟΥ-
 ΗΛ ΖΑ ΠΕΤΝΔΙΑΓΡΑ-
 ΦΟΝ ΖΙ ΤΠΡΩΤ(Η)
 ΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΝΨ-
 10 ΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΒΔΟ[ΜΗ]
 γί(νεται) (ἄ)ρ(ιθμία) β Ἐπεὶ β
 ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) η ΔΑΥΕΙΤ
 ΠΑΠΗ ΨΤ(ΟΙ)Χ(ΕΙ)

1-2 ΖΟΛΟΚ/ ostr. 8. πρω^τ ostr. 11. γι ρ ostr. 12 ἰνδ/ ostr. 13 ΣΤΧ ostr.

“+ Here are two counted *holokottinoi*. They have come to me from you, Stephanos (son of) Pses and Psan (son of) Samuel, for your poll tax of the first collection of the seventh year; i.e., 2 counted (*nomisma*). Epiph 2, indiction year 8. David the *ape* signs.”

¹² *O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 218 (Victor son of Ezekiel and his son Pcher; unsigned); 219 (Daniel son of NN, Georgios, and NN; by Anastasios); 351 (Emai son of Daniel and his son Pesente; by Psate). A fourth receipt in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology in London, UC 62795 (Paulos and Petros; unsigned), is currently being prepared for publication by Nikolaos Gonis.

3-4 Psate uses the correct 2pl. form of the suffix pronoun, **ΖΙΤΟΟΤΤΗΥΤΗ** (the **Η** is not well formed). In *O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 351 and UC 62795 (see n. 12), he incorrectly uses the 2ms form, **ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ**. These receipts were written quickly, yet in some instances he was clearly aware of what he was writing and able to modify the text accordingly. In other instances, he did not provide the same level of attention.

5 Stephanos son of Psēs is also the taxpayer in *P.Worp* 62, for one *holokottinos* for the *diagraphon* of year 12, written Epiph 15 year 13. This name is also all that survives of *O.Vind.Copt.* 123: **[CTE]ΦΑΝΟΣ ΜΠΨΗΣ**.

6-7 This is the only attestation of Psan son of Samuel.

9 **NT**:- **η** is a correction. Psate had originally written a tall letter, possibly a duplication of the previous eta, but this is unclear.

11 The end of the line is faint, but the date is clear, especially based on comparisons with an unpublished ostrakon in the British Museum, EA 73959, a receipt for one *holokottinos* paid by Petros son of Phoibammon, written by Psate.¹³

12 Of the fourteen known receipts written in indiction year 8 for taxes of the previous year, seven are signed by Psate (*O.Crum* 413, *O.Hamb.copt. inv.* VI, *O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 350, 360, 373, 377, and 382), one is attributed to him by its editors (*P.Stras.Copt.* 61), and the remaining six are unsigned (*O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 308, 309, 311, 328; *P.Schutzbrieife* 63, and *SB Kopt.* 3.1420). Examination of these unsigned receipts may enable their attribution to Psate, and it should be stressed that no receipts from year 8 are signed by or have been attributed to another scribe.

– David the *ape* occurs in several receipts.¹⁴ In the 8th indiction year specifically, he also occurs in *O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 255 (unsigned, but almost certainly written by Psate) and *P.Schutzbrieife* 63.12 (unsigned, and written in combination with a *logos mpnoute* travel pass).

13 **CTX** is faint and not certain. **CTO^x** is also a possibility, but is less likely as reading a supralinear letter is more doubtful.

¹³ There remain a number of unpublished Djeme tax receipts in the British Museum's collection, including (based on my preliminary search of the collection for such material): EA 19885 (Coptic; signed by Psate), 31222 (worn, possibly Greek; signed by Psate), 31783 (Coptic; signed by Psate), 73959 (Coptic; unsigned but Psate).

¹⁴ See Till (n. 11) 75.

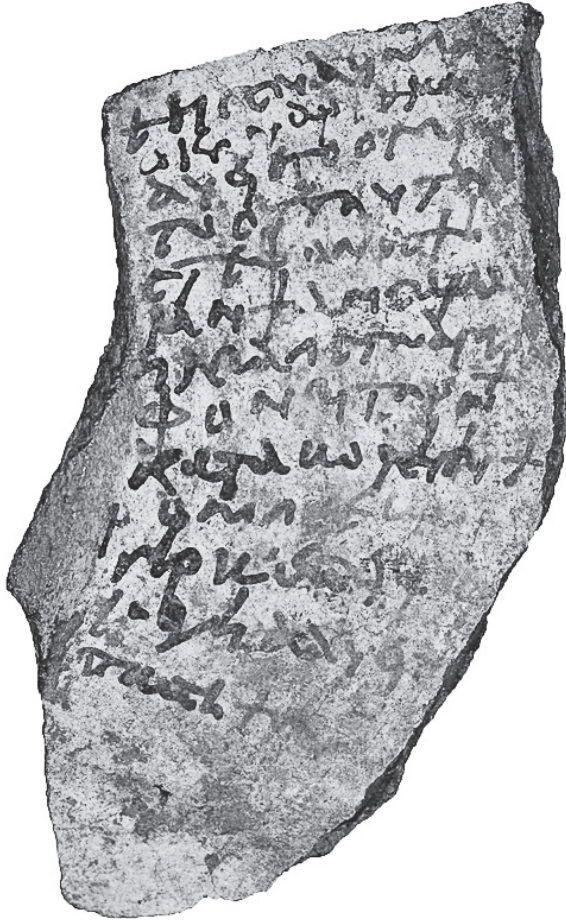


Fig. 2: O.Col. inv. 109, courtesy Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University

3. *Receipt for Paulos*

O.Col. inv. 795 (acc. 64.11.135) H × W = 7.9 × 9 cm 21 April 721
Pink clay

The ostracon is complete, but damage to the surface, especially over the bottom half, makes the text difficult to read. It is unsigned, but its features – paleography, formulae, and orthography (including the double sigma in $\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma$) – and its date supports its attribution to Psate.

+ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ(ΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ)
 ΝΑΡΙΘΜΙΑ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ
 Ζ[Ι]ΤΟΟΤΚ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ
 ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ ΖΑ ΠΕΚΔΙΑΓΡΑ-
 5 ΦΟΝ ΖΙ ΤΕΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΕΤΑΡ-
 ΤΗ ΓΙ(ΝΕΤΑΙ) ΑΡ(ΙΘΜΙΟΝ) Α Μ(ΗΝΙ) ΦΑΡΜ(ΟΥ)Θ(Ι) ΚΣ
 ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟΣ) Δ ΙΩΑΝ[Ν]ΗΣ ΠΑΠΗ
 ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ

1 *l. εις; ζολοκ*, ostr. 6 *γι, αρ μ' φαρμ⁰* ostr. 7 *ινδ*, ostr.

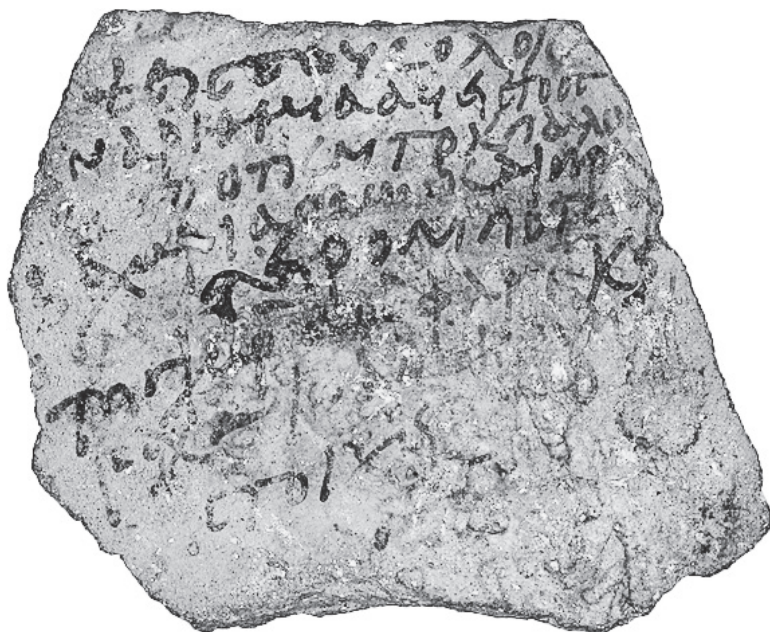


Fig. 3: O.Col. inv. 795, courtesy Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University

“+ Here is one counted *holokottinos*. It has come to me from you, Paulos (son of) Zacharias, for your poll tax in this third year, i.e., 1 counted (*nomisma*). Pharmoute 26, indiction year 4. Johannes the *ape* signs.”

1 The doubling of sigma in $\epsilon\iota\kappa\kappa$ is characteristic of Psate, as Delattre and Fournet note in *P.Stras.Copt.* p. 233. Of all occurrences of this feature in Theban tax receipts, the majority can be attributed to Psate (20 of the more than 70 relevant texts are signed by Psate, only one by the scribe Psan son of Basileios, while many others can be attributed to Psate on stylistic grounds). As Delattre and Fournet note: “la proportion importante de textes signés par Psate permet de proposer de voir dans la graphie $\epsilon\iota\kappa\kappa$ un de ses idiotismes.”

3-4 A Paulos son of Zacharias is attested in another tax receipt, *O.Crum* 409, written by Psan son of Basileios on Tobe 30 indication year 2, for one *holokottinos* for the taxes of the same year.

7 The numeral δ has a wide triangular shape, with its strokes written closely together.

– A Johannes occurs as *ape* in a number of receipts, as does a Johannes son of Isidore.¹⁵ The two may be the same man, although this is not certain, especially as a Johannes son of Victor occurs as *strategos* (the equivalent of the earlier *ape*) in two receipts in the Turin collection.¹⁶

4. Receipt for Abraham

O.Col. inv. 950 (acc. 64.1.281) H × W = 7.8 × 7.2 cm 7 October 717
Mid-brown clay with cream slip¹⁷

A chip to the top-left of the ostrakon has resulted in the loss of the opening formulary, but this can be reconstructed, and the receipt is otherwise complete. The writing is characterized by its uneven ink flow, with thick strokes (note especially the beginning of line 5) contrasted with finer, faint strokes as Psate delayed re-dipping his pen until the last moment. This receipt bears Psate’s signature and is issued to a previously unknown individual, Abraham son of Aser.

¹⁵ Till (n. 11) 107 and 110 does not equate the two; note additionally *SB Kopt.* 1.255 (Johannes son of Isidore).

¹⁶ O.Tor. inv. 1449 and 1452, both of which are being prepared for publication by Nikolaos Gonis.

¹⁷ Note that the APIS record for this sherd incorrectly labels the material as limestone.

- [+ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΖΟΛΟΚ(ΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ) ΝΑΡ]ΙΘ-
 [ΜΙΑ ΑΦ]ΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤῆ
 ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ ΝΤΟΚ
 ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΑΣΕΗΡ ΖΑ ΠΕΚ-
 5 ΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΖΙ ΤΠΡΩΤ(Η) ΚΑ(ΤΑΒΟΛΗ)
 Ν†ΡΟΜΠΕ ΠΕΝΤΕΚ(ΑΙ)ΔΕΚΑΤ[Η]
 γ(ίνεται) (α)ρ(ίθμια) α Φ(α)ῶ(φι) ι ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) πρώτ(ης)
 ΗΛΙΑΣ ΠΑΠΗ †ΣΤ(ΟΙ)Χ(ΕΙ)
 ΨΑΤΕ ΠΙΣΡΑΗΛ
 10 ΑΦΑΪΤΕΙ Μ-
 ΜΟΙ ΔΙΣΜ-
 Ν ΠΕΙΞ-
 [ΝΤΑΓ(ΙΟΝ)]

5 πρωτ κ^λ ostr. 6 πεντεκαδεκατ[η] ostr. 7 γ ρ φ^ω ι^δ/ πρωτ ostr. 8 στ^λ ostr.

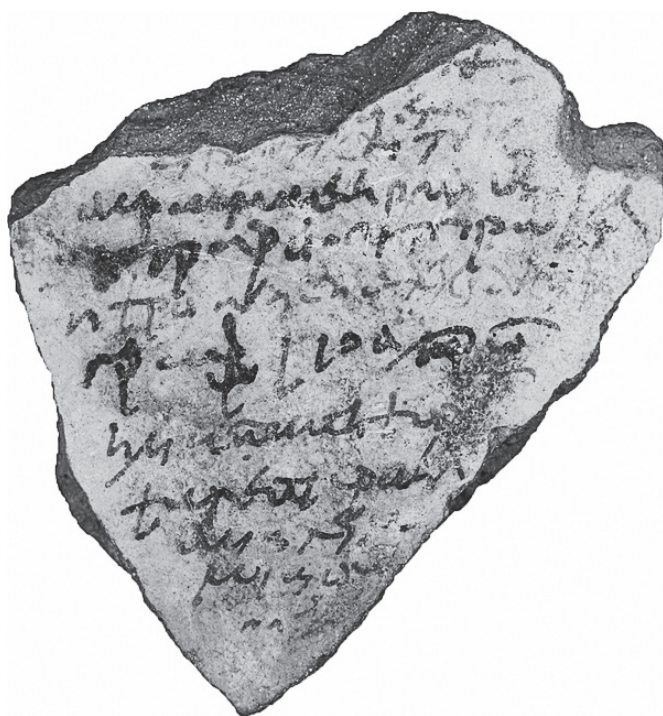


Fig. 4: O.Col. inv. 950, courtesy Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University

“[+ Here is one co]unt[ed *holokottinos*. It has] come to us from you, Abraham (son of) Aser for your poll tax in the first collection of this fifteenth year, i.e., 1 counted (*nomisma*). Paope 10, indiction year 1, one. Elias the *ape* agrees. He asked me, Psate (son of) Pisrael and I drew up this r[ec]eipt.”

2 **ΕΤΟΟΤῚ**: The ink at the end of the line is faint, but the presence of the superlinear stroke indicates that the 1pl. suffix pronoun was written (rather than, “to me”, **ΕΤΟΟΤ**).

4 Abraham son of Aser is not otherwise attested, although note that the patronymic of the Abrahams in *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I 86/6, *O.Medin. Habu Copt.* 264, and *O.Theb.* 4.19 do not survive. The name Aser (**ΑΣΕΗΡ**) may be a hitherto unknown variant of **ΑΣΑΡΙΑΣ** / **ΑΖΑΡΙΑΣ**.

7 Psate wrote one other receipt on this day: *O.Theb.* 4.13, issued to Johannes son of Pcellorios for 1 *holokottinos*.

8 Elias occurs in a dozen tax receipts, half of which bear Psate’s signature.¹⁸

9 For his alternation between **ΨΑΤΕ** and **ΨΑΤΗ**, see *P.Stras.Copt.*, p. 231.

13 There are actually no traces at the bottom of the ostrakon and this reconstruction is a suggestion, based on the possibility that the ink has simply worn away here. However, it is possible that a heavily abbreviated form of **ΕΝΤΑΡΙΟΝ** was written at the end of line 12.

5. Receipt for Zacharias

O.Col. inv. 1102 (acc. 65.1.5) H × W = 5.8 × 5.7 cm 721/722
Red clay with yellow slip

Psate, whose signature partly survives, writes here in a fine hand, which stands in particularly marked contrast to no. 4. The shard is broken at the right, with at least one-third of the receipt lost, and the bottom-left corner. The date, apart from the indiction year, is lost.

¹⁸ See Till (n. 11) 80, to which can be added O.Frib.Copt. inv. AT 2005.126 (Delattre and Vanthieghem [n. 2] 90-91), O.Hamb.Copt. inv. VI (Delattre and Vanthieghem [n. 2] 91-92), *P.Stras.Copt.* 61, and the unpublished British Museum ostrakon EA 31783.

+ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΖΟ[ΛΟΚ(ΟΤΤΙΝΟΣ)]
 ΝΑΡΙΘΜΙΑ [ΑΦΕΙ ΕΤΟ-]
 ΟΤ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ Ν[ΤΟΚ]
 ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΖΑ Π[ΕΚΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ]
 5 ΖΙ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΚΑΤ[ΑΒΟΛΗ ΝΤΕΙ-]
 ΡΟΜΠΕ ΠΕΜΠΤΗ γ[ι] (νεται) [(ᾱ)ρ(ίθμιον) α .?]
 [. . ιν]δ(ικτίωνος) ε + ΕΠΙΦΑΝ[ΙΟΣ ΠΑΠΗ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ]
 [ΨΑΤΗ] ΠΙΣΡΑ[ΗΛ ...]

1 l. εις. 5 l. πρωτη. 6 γ[ι] ostr. 7 [ιν]δ ostr.

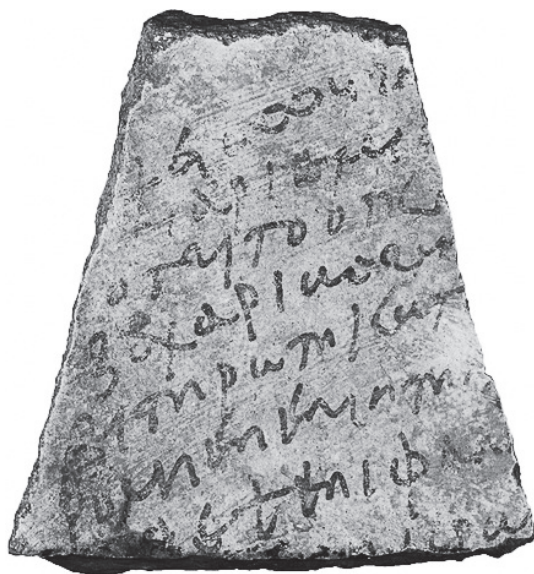


Fig. 5: O.Col. inv. 1102, courtesy Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University

“+ Here is one counted *holokottinos*. [It has come to] me from you, Zacharias, for your [poll tax] in the first col[lection of this] fifth year, i.e., [1 counted *nomisma* ...] indiction year 5. + Epiphan[ios ...] [Psate (son of) Pisra[el ...].”

1 For the duplication of c in Psate’s receipts, see the discussion concerning no. 3, line 1.

4 A Zacharias without a patronymic occurs in *O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 259, for taxes of indication year 7, and five other men with this name occur

as taxpayers, all of whom have different patronymics in receipts written over several years and by several scribes. It is not therefore possible to identify this taxpayer with greater precision. It is also possible that a short name was written at the end of line 3 and that Zacharias is in fact the patronymic.

– Based on the amount of text lost from the end of lines 3 and 5, **ΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ** must have been written in an abbreviated form.

6-7 The month and day are lost in lacuna, with the numeral written at the beginning of line 7.

7 Epiphanios can certainly be identified as an *ape*; he occurs in five other receipts with this title: *O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 258-260, 348, and 374 (348 and 374 bear Psate's signature).

8 All that remains of Psate's signature are traces of his patronymic along the bottom edge of the ostrakon. Yet, these are sufficient to securely identify his name. His signature most likely continued onto a now lost line 9.

Appendix: Summary of the Receipts' Key Details
(in chronological order)

	Taxpayer	Tax year	Amount	Date	Julian date	Officials
4	Abraham s. of Aser	15	1 <i>hol.</i>	Paope 1, indiction year 1	7 October 717	Elias, <i>ape</i>
3	Paulos s. of Zacharias	4	1 <i>hol.</i>	Pharmoute 27, indiction year 4	21 April 721	Johannes, <i>ape</i>
5	Zacharias	5	1 <i>hol.</i>	[...], indiction year 5	721/722	Epiphanios
2	Stephanos s. of Pses and Psan s. of Samuel	7	2 <i>hol.</i>	Epiph 2, indiction year 8	26 June 724	David, <i>ape</i>
1	Philotheos s. of Patkoulol	8	1 <i>hol.</i>	Epiph 18, indiction year 9	12 July 725	Petros, <i>ape</i>

DEUX QUITTANCES DE LOYER POUR UN FOUR¹

Mathieu Tillier *Université Paris-Sorbonne* et
Naïm Vanthieghem *Université Libre de Bruxelles*

Abstract. — Edition of two receipts for the rent of an oven by a baker from the Sorbonne collection. One receipt is dated to 908/909, the other is also from the tenth century, perhaps from the same year.

Au nombre des institutions françaises qui possèdent des collections de papyrus se trouve l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne.² Le fonds, d'ampleur modeste, compte une cinquantaine de papyrus arabes achetés en Égypte, pour l'essentiel par P. Jouguet à Louxor en 1920.³ Seules cinq lettres, complètes ou fragmentaires, adressées par Qurra b. Šarīk à Basileios ont été à ce jour publiées⁴; le reste de la collection demeure inédit. Nous proposons ici l'édition de deux quittances concernant la location d'un four par deux boulangers, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq (1) et Raḡā' (2).

Bien que rédigées par des scribes différents, Haltūs b. Kayl (1) et Sila b. Bisinda (2), les deux quittances suivent un formulaire identique,

¹ Les auteurs remercient Mme Hélène Cuvigny, Directrice de l'Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne, de les avoir autorisés à publier ce texte et M. Florent Jacques, Conservateur de la collection, pour l'aide qu'il leur a fournie.

² Sur les collections françaises de papyrus arabes, cf. A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde* 1 (Prague 1954) 48-49, où la collection de la Sorbonne, révélée tardivement, n'est pas mentionnée.

³ L'essentiel des papyrus arabes de l'Institut papyrologique de la Sorbonne provient d'un achat réalisé par P. Jouguet durant l'hiver 1920 à Louxor. Le nom de son ou d'un de ses intermédiaires est conservé dans l'inventaire qui précise que papyrus inv. 2714 fut acheté auprès d'un certain Abdmour. Sous cette graphie fautive se cache le nom du marchand Abd en-Nur Gabrial, qui fut entre 1884 et 1930, avec son frère Girgis, l'un des marchands d'antiquités les plus en vue de la ville de Qena. Il possédait également une échoppe à Louxor qui avait la réputation, d'après un guide de l'époque, d'être un lieu où l'on pouvait faire des affaires honnêtes; sur ce personnage, voir F. Hagen et K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880-1930: The H.O. Lange Papers* (Copenhague 2016) 216-217. Un papyrus arabe provient de l'ancienne collection Reinach et un autre, qui appartenait à l'ancienne collection Golenischeff, a été donné à l'Institut par J. Yoyotte en 1982 (toutes ces informations nous ont été aimablement communiquées par M. Florent Jacques).

⁴ Il s'agit des papyrus inventoriés sous les numéros 1500 et 2343-2346. Ils ont été publiés dans Y. Rāḡib, "Lettres nouvelles de Qurra b. Šarīk," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 40 (1981) 173-187 et dans P.M. Sijpesteijn, "Une nouvelle lettre de Qurra b. Šarīk: P.Sorb. inv. 2345," *Annales Islamologiques* 45 (2011) 257-268.

à quelques détails près, et sont écrites, chose rare pour ce type de documents, en style subjectif. Après la *basmala*, elles commencent par les mots *qad waṣala ʿilayya min qibalika* («J'ai reçu de ta part»), suivis du nom, au vocatif, de la personne qui s'acquitte du loyer. Les documents mentionnent ensuite le nom des mois réglés ainsi que, dans un cas, l'année (2). Une quittance (1) précise la somme payée, accompagnée de la formule *ʾaḥtasib laka bi-ḍālika ʾin šāʾ Allāh* («et je porte cela à ton compte si Dieu le veut!»). Le nom du scribe est enfin mentionné, introduit par la formule *wa-kataba ... bi-ḥaṭṭihi* («Écrit par ... de sa main»).

Aucune des deux quittances n'est datée précisément, mais la seconde mentionne que le paiement du loyer est réalisé pour l'année fiscale 296 (soit l'année 908-909). Il est probable qu'il s'agit de deux fours distincts. En effet, les scribes qui établissent les quittances semblent en être les propriétaires. Dans le document 2, *Sīla b. Bisinda* précise que le four «[lui] appartient», et le style subjectif employé dans le reçu 1 suggère que *Haltūs b. Kayl* est aussi propriétaire du four mis en location. Néanmoins, l'hypothèse selon laquelle les deux quittances concerneraient le même four n'est pas à exclure, *Haltūs b. Kayl* et *Sīla b. Bisinda* pouvant en être copropriétaires. Dans la mesure où la première quittance a été rédigée au titre des quatre premiers mois de l'année égyptienne (thôth, phaôphi, hathyr et choiak) et où la seconde l'a été pour les cinquième, sixième et septième mois (tybi, mecheir, phamenôth), la seconde quittance pourrait en ce cas avoir été établie au titre du paiement du loyer de la même année 296. Les deux reçus laissent en tout cas penser qu'il était d'usage de payer le loyer de telles structures immobilières non pas mensuellement, mais par périodes de trois ou quatre mois.⁵

Seule la quittance 1 indique la somme payée par le boulanger ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Ce dernier doit s'acquitter d'un dinar un tiers pour quatre mois, ce qui signifie que le loyer revenait à un tiers de dinar par mois. Si ce prix était standard pour la location d'un four – *a fortiori* s'il s'agit du même –, Raḡāʾ, le boulanger de la quittance 2, a dû régler pour trois mois le montant d'un dinar. Nous ne sommes malheureusement pas en mesure de dire si le loyer payé par le premier individu correspond aux prix pratiqués à l'époque, car la seule autre mention de location d'un four se lit dans le papyrus *P. Khalili* 1.6.v.2.2 de provenance, semble-t-il,

⁵ Sur les modes de règlement des loyers en Égypte médiévale, cf. T.S. Richter, "Koptische Mietverträge über Gebäude und Teile von Gebäuden," *JJP* 32 (2002) 113-168, en part. 149-152 ainsi que Y. Rāḡib, "Lettre relative à la location d'une chambre au début du III^e/IX^e siècle," *Annales islamologiques* 49 (2015) 145-159, en part. 149.

syrienne, où figure la somme de six dinars pour la location de deux fours, sans que la durée ne soit précisée.⁶

L'emploi d'un style subjectif dénote une rédaction de nature privée plutôt que notariale. Nul témoin ne vient attester le versement du loyer, ce qui pose question quant à l'usage et à la valeur juridique de tels documents. Sans témoins, dans quelle mesure le locataire pouvait-il prouver devant un juge, en cas de contestation, qu'il s'était acquitté de son loyer? Ces documents étant de provenance inconnue, il est impossible de dire s'ils étaient supposés pouvoir être produits devant un tribunal musulman comme il en existait selon toute vraisemblance à al-Ušmūnayn au IV^e/X^e siècle.⁷ Peut-être faut-il penser que le document, remis au locataire, était destiné à être présenté au propriétaire dans le cas où ce dernier oublierait qu'il avait reçu l'argent, ou devant une institution judiciaire qui acceptait plus facilement la preuve écrite que le cadi. En admettant qu'un tribunal musulman ait pu être saisi, la quittance non notariée n'avait peut-être pas valeur de preuve, mais tout au moins pouvait-elle servir de présomption en faveur du locataire clamant qu'il avait réglé son loyer: en l'absence de preuve testimoniale, le propriétaire aurait peut-être dû prêter serment que la somme lui était due. Confronté au reçu rédigé de sa main, aurait-il osé se parjurer? La quittance, même non notariée, renforçait donc selon toute vraisemblance les chances du locataire de remporter le procès. L'apposition finale d'une *ḥamdala*, dans le document 2, pourrait enfin s'apparenter au paraphe (*ʿalāma*) d'une institution qui viendrait valider le reçu et, ainsi, lui donner une valeur juridique (voir *infra* dans le commentaire).

Notons enfin que l'onomastique des parties citées suggère que, dans les deux cas, les propriétaires des fours sont des Coptes, sans doute chrétiens, tandis que les locataires portent des noms arabes et sont, peut-être, musulmans. Même si l'onomastique est parfois trompeuse, ces deux documents pourraient constituer le témoignage précieux d'un type d'interaction sociale entre chrétiens et musulmans au début du X^e siècle. Alors que, par le biais des conversions ou de mouvements de population, l'arrière-pays égyptien s'islamisait peu à peu, le foncier appartenait peut-être encore en majorité à des propriétaires coptes, qui fixaient le montant et la périodicité

⁶ L'éditeur a lu *fī kirā l-farrānīn sittat darāhim* («for the hire of the bakers – six dirhams»), mais il faut lire *fī kirā l-furnayn sittat darāhim* («pour le loyer de deux fours, six dirhams»), car il n'est plus usuel au IX^e siècle d'omettre l'*alif* en fonction de *mater lectionis*.

⁷ M. Tillier, "Du pagarque au cadi: ruptures et continuités dans l'administration judiciaire de la Haute-Égypte (I^{er}-III^e/VII^e-IX^e siècle)," *Médiévales* 64 (2013) 32-34.

du loyer des structures commerciales qu'ils étaient susceptibles de fournir à des musulmans. Seule l'étude d'une série de documents de ce type permettra d'éprouver cette hypothèse provisoire.

1. *Reçu pour le règlement de quatre mois de loyer*

Le boulanger ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq paie 1 1/3 dinar pour le four qu'il loue au titre des mois de thôt, phaôphi, hathyr et choiak. La quittance précise que la somme sera portée à son compte. Le document a été écrit par un certain Haltūs b. Kayl.

P.Sorb. inv. 2712 verso 13,1 × 11,5 cm Provenance inconnue, x^e siècle

Coupon de papyrus de couleur brun clair. Le texte est complet; les marges supérieure et inférieure sont amples tandis que celles de gauche et de droite sont étroites. On ne peut dire si le document était à l'origine scellé, comme on l'attendrait pour les quittances de cette époque.⁸ Le texte compte six lignes à la fin desquelles le scribe a tracé une étoile stylisée, qui est souvent ajoutée à la fin des documents administratifs pour authentifier ou marquer la fin du texte. L'écriture, due à une main exercée, comporte de nombreuses ligatures. Les lettres sont dépourvues de tout signe diacritique. Notre texte a été rédigé au dos d'un ancien compte, peut-être de nature fiscale, qui enregistre différents paiements en dinars; il n'en subsiste que trois lignes: 1. 1] b. *Buḡtur* (?) *ḥamsa wa-ṭalāṭīn dīnāran* («... b. Buḡtur [?]: trente-cinq dinars»); 1. 2 [*al-šamm*]ās (?) *ḥamsat danānīr wa-ṭulṭay dīnār* («... le diacre [?]: cinq dinars, deux-tiers»); 1. 3]. *wa-miʿat dīnār – wa-sabʿa wa-ḥamsīn dīnāran wa-ṭumn wa-suds ṭumn* («... cent cinquante-sept dinars, un huitième et un quarante-huitième de dinar»).

← بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 قد وصل الي من قبلك يا عبد الرحمن بن اسحق الفل[ر][ن]
 كرى اربعة اشهر عن كرى الفرن اولهم توت
 وبايه وهتور وخياق وهو دينار واحد
 5 وثلت احتسب لك بذلك ان شا الله
 وكتب هلتوس بن كيل بخطه

⁸ Voir par exemple *P.Gascou* 52 et 54-58.

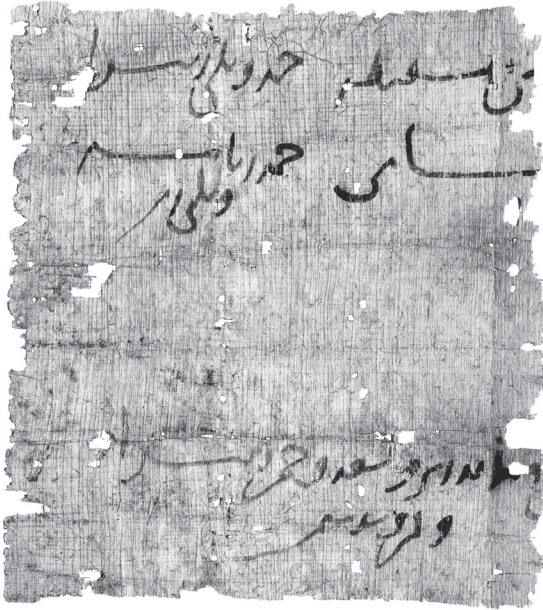


Fig. 1: P.Sorb. inv. 2712 *recto* (© Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne)

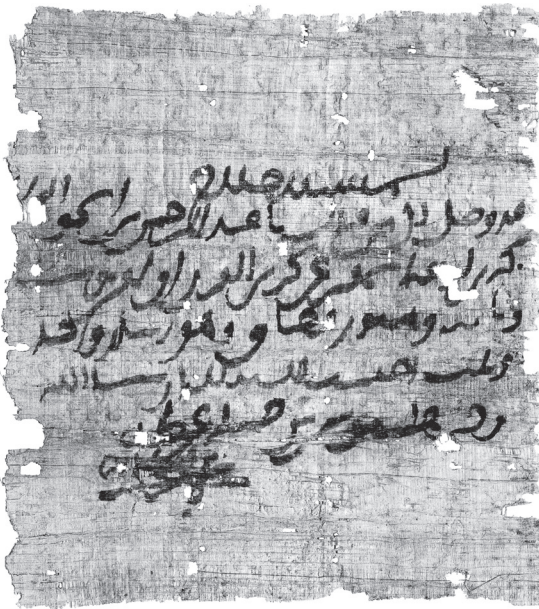


Fig. 2: P.Sorb. inv. 2712 *verso* (© Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne)

«Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. J'ai reçu de toi, ô ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq le boulanger, quatre mois de loyer pour la location du four: en premier, thōth, puis phaôphi, hathyr et choiak. [Tu m'as versé] un dinar un tiers. Je porte cela à ton compte, si Dieu le veut! Rédigé de sa propre main par Haltūs b. Kayl.»

3 Le mot *kirā* est précédé d'un point dont nous ne comprenons pas la signification.

3-4 *tūt | wa-bāyba wa-hatūr wa-ḥuyāq*: Les mois de thôt et de hathyr sont orthographiés selon les conventions habituelles. Le mois de choiak est habituellement rendu par la forme arabe *kayhak* ou *kayhaq*, mais la forme *ḥuyāq* est attestée au moins à deux reprises (cf. P.Vindob.Arab. inv. A.P. 645.3 et A.P. 3498.1). L'orthographe arabe *bāyba* pour le mois de phaôphi est quant à elle inédite, la forme usuelle étant *bāba*. Sur ces questions, voir Grohmann (n. 1) 226.

5 *ʿaḥtasibu laka bi-dālika*: La forme VIII *iḥtasaba*, qui signifie «porter en compte», est régulièrement utilisée dans les papyrus en contexte comptable (cf. P.Cair.Arab. 2.113.3; 5.302.8 et 5.329.5); sur cette question, voir N. Vanthieghem, “Opérations comptables dans un ordre de paiement arabe. À propos de P.Vindob. inv. A.P. 3172”, *BASP* 53 (2016) 372-373.

6 *Haltūs b. Kayl*: Le nom Haltūs est attesté dans P.Cair.Arab. 1.54.3, 2.86.5 et 2.87.4. Nous ne savons pas quel est son étymon copte. Quant à Kayl, il transcrit le nom copte $\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$.

2. Reçu pour le règlement de trois mois de loyer

Le boulanger Raḡāʾ paie le loyer d'un four pour les mois de tybi, mecheir et phamenôt. Le document a été rédigé par le propriétaire, un certain Sīla b. Bisinda.

P.Sorb. inv. 2706 verso 15 × 11,5 cm Provenance inconnue, 908-909

Coupon de papyrus de couleur brun clair. Le texte est pratiquement complet: il ne manque au début qu'une seule ligne du texte. La marge inférieure est ample tandis que celles de gauche et droite sont étroites. La marge inférieure étant particulièrement généreuse, il n'est pas impossible que document ait été scellé à l'origine. Le texte compte six lignes à la fin desquelles le scribe a ajouté, sous une forme un peu stylisée, la formule

pieuse *al-ḥamdu li-llāh*. L'écriture, œuvre d'une main exercée, comporte de nombreuses ligatures. Les lettres sont dépourvues de signes diacritiques, à l'exception du *sīn* et du *šīn* qui sont parfois surmontés d'une barre horizontale oblique (l. 4 *amšīr*; l. 5 *sana*; l. 6 *Sīla* et *Bisinda*). Notre texte a été rédigé au dos d'un ancien document, peut-être un contrat, dont on ne lit plus grand-chose: l. 2, on déchiffre la séquence]. *ḥalawna min šahr ramadān* («... passés du mois de *ramadān*»).

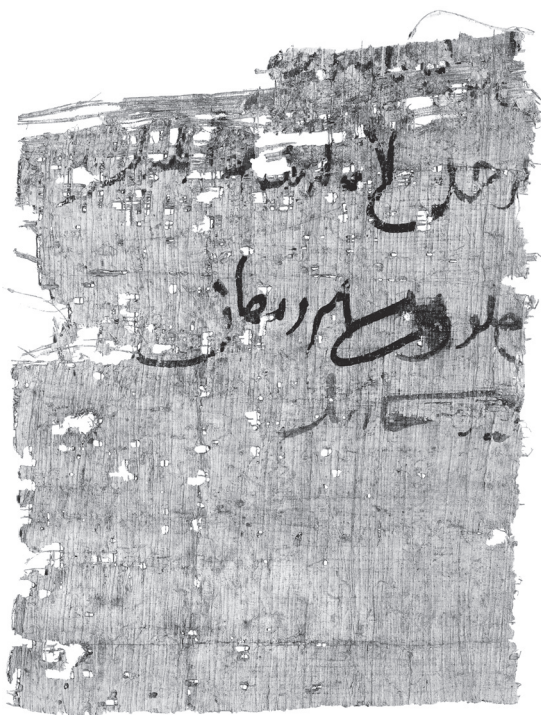


Fig. 3: P.Sorb. inv. 2706 *recto* (© Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne)

← [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم]
 [قد وصل الي من قبلك يا رجا الفران
 كرى الفرن الذي لي ثلاثة اشهر
 طوبة وامشير وبرمهود من شهر
 5 القبط من سنة ست وتسعين ومائتين
 وكتب سيلة بن بسندة بخطه
 والحمد لله

«Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. J'ai reçu de toi, ô Raḡā' le boulanger, le loyer du four qui m'appartient, pour trois mois: tybī, mecheir et phamenoth, selon le calendrier des Coptes, de l'année 296. Rédigé de sa propre main par Sīla b. Bisinda. Louange à Dieu.»

2 *[qad waṣa]la 'ilayya min qibalika*: La lecture est rendue difficile à cet endroit – car le papyrus est particulièrement endommagé –, si bien que nous ne sommes pas certains de l'interprétation qu'il faut donner aux traces qui subsistent. Cette lecture est celle qui paraît cependant la plus vraisemblable au regard du formulaire du premier document.

4 *tūba wa-'amšīr wa-baramhūd*: La graphie des mois coptes de tybī (*tūba*) et de mecheir (*'amšīr*) est conforme à celle que l'on rencontre dans le reste de la documentation arabe. La transposition *baramhūd* du mois de phamenôt est en revanche inédite: les papyrus recourent en effet habituellement soit à la forme copte ΠΑΡ(Ε)ΜΖΟΤ(Π) qu'ils transposent *baramhāt* ou *baramhāt*, ou à la forme grecque Φαμενώθ, qui est rendue par la forme *famanūt* (cf. Grohmann [n. 1] 227-228). On notera cependant l'existence de la graphie, proche de la nôtre, *baramhūt*, qui apparaît dans *P.Ryl.Arab.* 1.XV.44b.2.

4-5 *min šuhūr | al-qibṭ sana ...*: Dans les papyrus, on trouve indistinctement la mention *min šuhūr al-qibṭ sanat kaḏā wa-kaḏā* ou *min šuhūr al-'aḡam kaḏā wa-kaḏā* pour indiquer que l'on fait référence à l'année fiscale, une année luni-solaire (cf. Grohmann [n. 1] 230-231).

6 *Sīla b. Bisinda*: Le nom Sīla, qui est orthographié tantôt Sila, tantôt Sīla, est attesté dans *P.Cair.Arab.* 2.60.3 et 4.259.2. A. Grohmann, l'éditeur de ces documents, y voyait, sans doute à raison, une forme du nom gréco-copte CΙΛΑC (TM_namID 5779); cf. *P.Cair.Arab.* 2, p. 190. Quant au patronyme, il faut y voir une transposition du nom ΠΙCΕΝΤΙΟC (TM_namID 11633), plus précisément de sa variante ΠΙCΕΝΤΕ; la graphie *Bisinda* apparaît dans *Chrest.Khoury* 1.77.11 et dans *P.Ryl.Arab.* 1.X.5/3.

7 *wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāh*: L'ajout d'une *ḥamdala* à la fin d'une quittances est rare: on en trouve des occurrences à la fin des quittances *P.Gascou* 56.7, *P.Grohmann Wirtsch.* 13.3 et *P.Steuerquittungen* 31.10 ainsi que dans l'inédit P.Utah inv. 546.6. Dans les actes juridiques, cette formule pieuse était ajoutée après le corps du texte pour combler les espaces vides, afin d'éviter que des séquences ne soient ajoutées après la rédaction de l'acte (Y. Rāḡib, *Actes de vente d'esclaves et d'animaux d'Égypte médiévale* [Le Caire 2006] 3-4, § 9-10). Il n'est pas impossible

que le scribe de notre quittance ait écrit ici une *ḥamdala* entre le corps du texte et la marge pour prévenir toute falsification. Cependant, cette séquence semble avoir été écrite par une autre main, auquel cas on pourrait y voir une forme de validation, comme le paraphe (*ʿalāma*) dans les actes juridiques des époques ultérieures; pour une hypothèse similaire dans un papyrus du VIII^e siècle, voir M. Tillier, “Deux papyrus judiciaires de Fuṣṭāṭ (II^e/VIII^e siècle),” *ChrÉg* 89 (2014) 423-424.

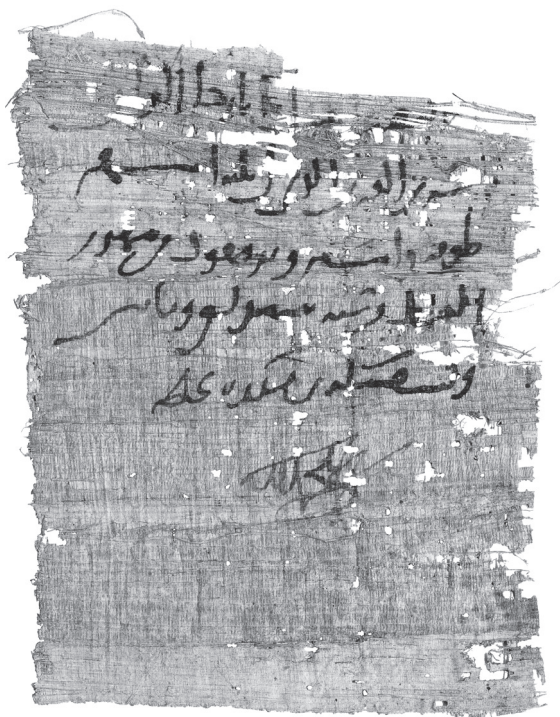


Fig. 4: P.Sorb. inv. 2706 verso (© Institut de papyrologie de la Sorbonne)

MANUFACTURE OF BLACK INK IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN¹

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Abstract. — Three types of black ink are attested in the textual sources pertaining to the manufacture of black pigments in the ancient Mediterranean: “carbon ink,” “mixed ink,” and “iron gall ink.” A discussion of the well-known accounts by Vitruvius, Pliny, and Dioscorides is combined with a study of the formulae for black ink found in the Greek magical papyri and an examination of the textual evidence from Late Period Egypt and beyond. It is demonstrated that the ingredients mentioned in the texts were employed regularly in ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean pharmacology. Furthermore, it is argued that the soot and charcoal for “mixed inks,” meaning carbon inks that contain metalloids, were obtained as by-products of metallurgy, glaze and glass production. The article is supplemented by a glossary of selected Egyptian, Greek, Latin, Coptic, Arabic, and Syriac technical terms.

Black ink is the established and time-honoured way in which human-kind commits words to writing and communicates thoughts and experiences over short and vast distances of space and time. Surprisingly, this ground-breaking invention has received only limited scholarly attention from ancient historians and conservators of manuscripts.² In marked

¹ I am grateful to the Copenhagen Neutron and X-ray Technology project, University of Copenhagen, and in particular Kim Ryholt and Sine Larsen, for funding my research on ancient inks; and Lena Tambs for carefully proof-reading the article and double-checking the many quotations and references. I am thankful to Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, Ira Rabin, Poul Erik Lindelof, and the reviewers of *BASP* for their very helpful corrections, remarks, and suggestions to earlier drafts.

² An indispensable work on the history of black ink from ancient times to the Renaissance is M. Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda, *Les encres noires au Moyen Âge (jusqu'à 1600)* (Paris 1983). The only notable archaeometric studies of black ink on papyri from Ancient Egypt is E. Delange et al., “Apparition de l'encre métallurgique en Égypte à partir de la Collection de papyrus du Louvre,” *RdÉg* 41 (1990) 213-217, and S. Goler et al., “Characterizing the Age of Ancient Egyptian Manuscripts through Micro-Raman Spectroscopy,” *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 47 (2016) 1185-1193. doi: 10.1002/jrs.4945. The black ink of two fragments from the Herculeanum papyri has been the object of close scrutiny at the European Synchrotron Facility (ESRF) in Grenoble; see E. Brun et al., “Revealing Metallic Ink in Herculeanum Papyri,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science USA* 113, no. 14 (2016) 3751-3754. doi: 10.1073/pnas.1519958113, and P. Tack et al., “Tracking Ink Composition on Herculeanum Papyri Scrolls: Quantification and Speciation of Lead by X-ray

contrast to the medium on which it was most regularly employed in the ancient Mediterranean, namely papyrus, which for decades has been the subject of scholarly debate and experimental archaeology,³ no synthetic study of the manufacture of black ink in the ancient Mediterranean has been attempted, although at least a dozen descriptions of the procedure exist – unlike for the making of papyrus, on which only the account of Pliny the Elder in the *Historia naturalis* and a few references by Theophrastus in the *Historia plantarum* have survived.⁴

The purpose of this study is to provide scholars with material for the study of ink manufacture in the ancient Mediterranean by collecting the relevant textual sources, which are cited *in extenso*. Philological and general commentary is kept to a minimum, since anyone acquainted with the descriptions and formulae of the manufacturing processes will appreciate that, in order to understand the many procedures and ingredients involved, they must be studied using a range of disciplines, including amongst others, Classics, Papyrology, Egyptology, and Material Sciences.

Three Types of Black Ink

There can be no doubt that the ancient Greeks, as they persistently state, obtained the technology of writing from the Egyptians.⁵ Although

Based Techniques and Monte Carlo Simulations,” *Scientific Reports* 6 (2016) 1-7. doi: 10.1038/srep20763. The black ink used on the Dead Sea Scrolls has been the subject of a number of studies; see Y. Nir-El and M. Broshi, “The Black Ink of the Qumran Scrolls,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 3, no. 2 (July 1996) 157-167; I. Rabin et al., “On the Origin of the Ink of the Thanksgiving Scroll,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 16, no. 1 (2009) 97-106. An overview of the different archaeometric studies of the scrolls is given in I. Rabin, “Archaeometry of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 20, no. 1 (January 2013) 124-142. doi: 10.1163/15685179-12341247. For ink manufacture during the Arabic-Islamic Middle Ages, see A. Schopen, *Tinten und Tuschen des arabisch-islamischen Mittelalters: Dokumentation – Analyse – Rekonstruktion* (Göttingen 2004).

³ Notable studies on the manufacture and chemical structure of papyrus are: H.G. Wiedeman and G. Beyer, “Papyrus: The Paper of Ancient Egypt,” *Analytical Chemistry* 55, no. 12 (1983) 1220A-1230A. doi: 10.1021/ac00262a774; B. Leach and J. Tait, “Papyrus,” in P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge 2000) 227-253; F. Flieger et al., “Papyrus: The Need for Analysis,” *Restaurator* 22, no. 2 (June 2001) 84-106. doi: 10.1515/REST.2001.84.

⁴ Plin. *HN* 13.68-83; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4.8.3. Recently discussed again by A. Bülow-Jacobsen, “Writing Materials in the Ancient World,” with extensive bibliography, in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 4-10. In general, see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1974).

⁵ For example Pl. *Phdr.* 274d-275b, where the invention of letter writing is ascribed to the Egyptian god of wisdom Theuth (Thoth); later in the dialogue, 276c, μέλαν, used in the

the texts pertaining to writing in Ancient Egypt are many, there exists – besides a few passing references – no detailed description of how the inks used by the ancient Egyptians were produced.⁶ The main sources describing the manufacture of inks and paints in the ancient world were written by Vitruvius, Pliny, and Dioscorides in the first century CE. Moreover, formulae for ink can be found in Greek magical and alchemical papyri from the third and fourth centuries CE.

The Greek and Latin words μέλαν and *atramentum* can be used not only for “black ink” *per se*, but also for various black substances applied as pigments; on occasion μέλαν can further be modified by other words to simply mean ink, for example “writing with Typhonian ink” (Τυφωνίου μέλανος γραφή); that is “red ink.”⁷ In Ancient Egyptian a similar term is *ry.t*, which covers both the raw material and the resulting substance compounded with gum and water.⁸ In most cases it refers to black ink used in writing, though occasionally to the red employed for rubrication, for instance “red ink” (*ry.t w3d.t*).⁹

Three different types of black ink are attested in the written record of the Hellenistic and Roman periods: “carbon ink,” “mixed ink,” and “iron gall ink”:¹⁰

1. Carbon ink is based on carbon compounds obtained from the burning or macerating of organic and inorganic materials, for instance wood, oil, earth, and so forth. Carbon is the oldest ink material known and its use for writing in Egypt can be traced back to the late Predynastic

sense “black ink,” is attested for the first time in Greek; when Socrates says: “Then he (the philosopher) will not, when in earnest write them (ideas) in ink, sowing them through a pen with words which cannot defend themselves by argument and cannot teach the truth effectually,” οὐκ ἔρα σπουδῇ αὐτὰ ἐν ὕδατι γράψει μέλανι σπείρων διὰ καλάμου μετὰ λόγων ἀδυνάτων μὲν αὐτοῖς λόγῳ βοηθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων δὲ ἱκανῶς τάληθῇ διδάξαι; trans. by H.N. Fowler, *Plato, Volume I: Euthyphro Apology Crito Phaedo Phaedrus* (Cambridge, MA 1914) 569.

⁶ E. Iversen, *Some Ancient Egyptian Paints and Pigments: A Lexicographical Study* (Copenhagen 1955); J. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin 1961) 141-162.

⁷ PGM XII.96-101; a heading for a formula for red ink.

⁸ A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 vols. plus 5 vols. (Leipzig 1926-1963) 2.399.10-11; Harris (n. 5) 147-148.

⁹ For *ry(t) w3d(.t)* as an Ancient Egyptian euphemism for red ink, see J. Quack, “Mit grüner Tinte Rot schreiben,” *Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 165 (1998) 7-8.

¹⁰ Compare the terminology employed by Schopen (n. 2) and L. Lau-Lamb in *Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS) – Guidelines for Conservation of Papyrus* (2005, revised 2010), <http://www.lib.umich.edu/papyrus-collection/advanced-papyrological-information-system#sec-documentation>.

period (around 3200 BCE), for example the finds from the Umm el-Qa'ab cemetery at Abydos.¹¹

2. Mixed ink consists of the same main ingredients as carbon ink, but whereas the first is based entirely on carbon compounds, metal bearing minerals (copper, iron, lead) have been added to the second.¹² It is not known when mixed ink first made its appearance in Ancient Egypt, but its use is attested in the third century BCE.¹³
3. Iron gall ink is made by mixing primarily oak galls (containing gallicotannic acid) with an iron sulphate ($\text{FeSO}_4 \cdot 7\text{H}_2\text{O}$), which produces a writing fluid (ferrous gallotannate) that on exposure to air turns black through oxidation.¹⁴ The first textual attestation of the use of what may be termed a “sympathetic” iron gall ink is found in the *Belopoeica* by Philo of Byzantium, which dates to the late third century BCE.¹⁵

All three types of ink are later mixed with a binding agent and normally suspended in water; at times in another fluid, for example vinegar.¹⁶ Almost invariably the binding agent in Ancient Egypt seems to have been gum arabic from the *acacia nilotica* (L.), collected in forest-like formations along the Nile.¹⁷ This tree, which was used in ritual, medicine, and cosmetics throughout the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean,¹⁸ was

¹¹ G. Dreyer, “Early Writing in Ancient Egypt,” in K. Azab and A. Mansour (eds.), *Journey of Writing in Egypt* (Alexandria 2008) 14-23; the oldest surviving papyrus rolls (uninscribed) were found in the tomb of Hemaka, an important official during the long reign of the first dynasty king Den; see W.B. Emery, *Excavations at Saqqara. The Tomb of Hemaka* (Cairo 1938) 13-14 (cat. no. 429).

¹² Though the exact nature of the chemistry of the black ink on the two fragments from the Herculaneum papyri is nowhere stated explicitly in the available studies, Brun et al. (n. 2) 3751-3754 and Tack et al. (n. 2) 1-7, it is evident that the ink should be classified as what in this article is called a “mixed ink”; in this case referring to a carbon ink to which lead (Pb) has been added.

¹³ Delange et al. (n. 1) 213-216; cf. the discussion below under “mixed ink.”

¹⁴ R.J. Gettens and G.L. Stout, *Painting Materials: A Short Encyclopaedia* (New York, NY 1966) 122; D.M. Glotz, “A Review of Instrumental Approaches for Studying Historical Inks,” *Analytical Letters* 45, no. 4 (2012) 314-329. doi: 10.1080/00032719.2011.644712.

¹⁵ Ph. Bel. 4.77; for this type of ink, see Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda (n. 2) 91-95.

¹⁶ In the Middle Ages very mild acidic solutions of dilute vinegar and yoghurt were used to arrest or slow down the formation of mould in the ink; see Schopen (n. 2) 223-235; M. Levey, “Mediaeval Arab Bookmaking and Its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology,” *TAPS* 52, no. 4 (1962) 7.

¹⁷ R. Newman and M. Serpico, “Adhesives and Binders,” in Nicholson and Shaw (n. 3) 476-477; Gettens and Stout (n. 14) 27-28.

¹⁸ For the use of the acacia in Ancient Egyptian pharmacology (and cosmetics), see H. on Deines and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Drogennamen* (Berlin 1959) 500-503; L. Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal* (London 1989) 65-67; for its use in Coptic pharmacology, see W.C. Till, *Der Arzneikunde der Kopten* (Berlin 1951). Theophrastus

named *šnd.t* (Coptic: **ϣⲟⲛⲧⲉ**)¹⁹ in Egyptian and its sap *ḳmʒ*, *ḳmī(.t)* (Coptic: **ⲕⲟⲙⲙⲉ**, **ⲕⲟⲙⲙⲓ**),²⁰ from which Greek *κόμμι*, Latin *gummi*, and English “gum” and so on are derived.²¹

Carbon Ink

Results by analytical means show that the majority of ancient papyri are inscribed with amorphous carbon in the form of soot, charcoal, or bone black, called in Ancient Egyptian *dʿb.t* (Coptic: **ⲁⲃⲃ(ⲉ)ⲥ**).²² The products obtained were rarely pure carbons, and most samples analysed so far contain various mineral impurities.²³ The coarseness of some specimens indicates that the “soot/charcoal” (*dʿb.t*) was at times collected from calcined masonry and plaster surfaces, which could explain the term, “soot/charcoal from stone” (*dʿb.t n.t inb*), found in Ancient Egyptian medical papyri from the New Kingdom.²⁴ An ostrakon found in Deir el-Medina from the Ramesside period (around 1200 BCE) possibly contains the earliest reference to the making of black ink in ancient Egypt, since “pigment” (*ry.t*) occurs on it in connection with *ḥt dd(l)*, a particular

mentions that the Egyptians used acacia instead of gall for tanning (*Hist. pl.* 4.2.8); Pliny, who copied extensively from Theophrastus, adds that the best gum was that of the Egyptian acacia (*HN* 13.20.66). For all questions relating to names, identifications, and synonyms for plants in the Roman world, see J. André, *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique* (Paris 1985).

¹⁹ Erman and Grapow (n. 8) 4.521; Crum, *Dict.* 573a-b.

²⁰ Erman and Grapow (n. 8) 5.39; Crum, *Dict.* 110b.

²¹ Westendorf, *Kopt.Handwörterbuch* 64; G. Takács, “Proto-Afro-Asiatic Origin of ‘Gum’?” *BSOAS* 63, no.1 (2000) 96-99; J. Kramer, “Zur Wortgeschichte von Gummi,” *APF* 57 (2011) 62-64. It can be applied to both true gums and gum-resins; see Harris (n. 6) 158-159. Gum (arabic), like the acacia, is well-attested in both Ancient and Medieval Egyptian medicine; see Deines and Grapow (n. 17) 516-519; Till (n. 17) 62.

²² Erman and Grapow (n. 8) 5.536; Crum, *Dict.* 760a; A. Lucas and J. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed. (London 1962) 362-364; L.M. Di Stefano and R. Fuchs, “Characterisation of the Pigments in a Ptolemaic Book of the Dead Papyrus,” *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 3 (2011) 231. doi: 10.1007/s12520-011-0054-3. A singular black ink based on (only?) powdered galena, that is a lead sulphide (PbS), has been identified in a “Book of the Dead” from around 1400 BCE using scanning electron microscopy-energy dispersive x-ray spectroscopy (SEM-EDXS); see B. Wagner et al., “Analytical Approach to the Conservation of the Ancient Egyptian Manuscript ‘Bakai Book of the Dead’: A Case Study,” *Microchimica Acta* 159 (2007) 101-108. doi: 10.11007/s00604-007-0732-0. For the use of “soot” in ancient Mediterranean pharmacology, Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 5.161; for Egypt, cf. Deines and Grapow (n. 18) 597.

²³ Leach and Tait (n. 3) 238.

²⁴ Erman and Grapow (n. 8) 5.537; Harris (n. 6) 160; Lucas and Harris (n. 22) 339.

type of wood (pine?) – from which a fine “soot/charcoal” (*d’b.t*) for writing seems to have been produced.²⁵

As already stated, no detailed descriptions of the manufacture of black ink are attested before the Roman period, when Pliny provides the most comprehensive account of the different procedures whereby the carbon compounds (soot/charcoal) used for black ink/pigment were obtained. In a section of the thirty-fifth book of the *Natural History*, devoted to the different pigments employed in ancient Mediterranean paints, inks, and dyes, he writes concerning *atramentum*:

Black pigment will also be classed among the artificial colours, although it is also derived from earth in two ways; it either exudes from the earth like the brine in salt pits, or actual earth of a sulphur colour is approved for the purpose. Painters have been known to dig up charred remains from graves thus violated to supply it. All these plans are troublesome and new-fangled; for black paint can be made in a variety of ways from the soot produced by burning resin or pitch, owing to which factories have actually been built with no exit for the smoke produced by this process. The most esteemed black paint is obtained in the same way from the wood of the pitch-pine. It is adulterated by mixing it with the soot of furnaces and baths, which is used as a material for writing.

A few lines later he gives a less circumspect way of procuring the black colour:

A black is also produced with dyes from the black florescence which adheres to bronze pans. One is also made by burning logs of pitch-pine and pounding the charcoal in a mortar.

He concludes by stating that:

The preparation of all black is completed by exposure to the sun, black for writing ink receiving an admixture of gum and black for painting walls an admixture of glue. Black pigment that has been dissolved in vinegar is difficult to wash out.²⁶

²⁵ J. Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh (Nos 1 à 113)* (Cairo 1935) pl. 35, ll. 10-11; Harris (n. 6) 147, 160.

²⁶ Plin. *HN* 35.41-43: *atramentum quoque inter facticios erit, quamquam est et terrae, geminae originis, aut enim salsuginis modo emanat, aut terra ipsa sulphurei coloris ad hoc probatur. inventi sunt pictores, qui carbones infestatis sepulchris effoderent. inopportuna haec omnia ac novicia. fit enim e fuligine pluribus modis, resina vel pice exustis, propter quod etiam officinas aedificavere fumum eum non emittentes. laudatissimum eodem modo fit e taedis. adulteratur fornacium balinearumque fuligine quo ad volumina scribenda utuntur ... fit etiam apud infectores ex flore nigro, qui adhaerescit aereis cortinis. fit et ligno e taedis combusto tritisque in mortario carbonibus ... omne autem atramentum sole perficitur, librarium cumme, tectorium glutino admixto. quod aceto liquefactum est, agere eluitur; trans. by H. Rackham, Pliny, *Natural History, Volume IX: Books 33-35* (Cambridge, MA 1952) 291-293.*

Like Pliny, Vitruvius in the seventh book of the *De architectura*, which deals with interior decoration or finishing, gives an overview of the artificial colours used in the ancient Mediterranean. His more succinct account of the manufacture of black “ink/pigment” (*atramentum*) mostly agrees with the statements made by Pliny, besides that it provides a detailed description of the “factories” (*officinae*) used for producing carbon compounds of “the most esteemed kind” (*laudatissimum*):

An oven similar to a Spartan sweating room should be built and reveted carefully with marble, and then polished. In front of it a small furnace should be built with vents leading into the oven; the mouth of the furnace should be closed very carefully to prevent the flames escaping. Resin should be put in the furnace. The intense fire burns the resin placed in the furnace and forces the soot through the vents into the oven where it sticks around the walls and the curve of the vault. The soot is collected from there and some of it is mixed and worked up with gum for the use as ink: painters mix the rest with size for the use on walls.²⁷

It is likely that the place, which Vitruvius says is built, like a “Spartan sweating room” (*laconicum*, scil. *balneum*), is an area of production rather than a large oven, since Pliny explicitly uses the word *officina* in his description of the procedure, literally meaning “workshop, factory or laboratory.”²⁸ Furthermore, in chapter 161 of the fifth book of the *Materia medica*, which concerns “soot” (ἄσβόλη) and its medicinal uses, Dioscorides states that: “the soot that painters use is taken from glass-making

²⁷ Vit. *De arch.* 7.10: namque aedificatur locus uti laconicum et expolitur marmore subtiliter et levigatur. ante id fit fornacula habens in laconicum nares, et eius praefurnium magna diligentia conprimitur, ne[c] flamma extra dissipetur. in fornace resina conlocatur. hanc autem ignis potestas urendo cogit emittere per nares intra laconicum fuliginem, quae circa parietem et camerae curvaturam adhaerescit. inde collecta partim componitur ex gummi subacta ad usum atramenti librarii, reliquum tectores glutinum admiscentes in parietibus utuntur; trans. by R. Schofield, *Vitruvius, On Architecture* (London 2009) 309. Since it is evident from Dioscorides’ chapter on μέλαν (*Materia Medica* 5.162) that painters’ soot (= *tectorium*) should be mixed with bulls’ hide glue (see below), the *glutinum* used for *atramentum tectorium* is likely animal glue; for the use of animal glue as a binding medium in ancient Egyptian paints, see H.A.M. Afifi, “Analytical Investigation of Pigments, Ground Layer and Media of Cartonnage from Greek Roman Period,” *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 11, no. 2 (2011) 95.

²⁸ OLD s.v. *officina*; Vitruvius does not use a particular designation for the area in which the carbon compounds for *atramentum* are procured. However, in an earlier passage, which is devoted to the extraction of mercury from cinnabar, he uses the word *officina*: “When these lumps have been collected in the workshop, they are put in a kiln, to dry out since they are saturated with moisture,” Vit. *De arch.* 7.8: hae glaebae, cum collectae sunt in officinam, propter umoris plenitatem coiciuntur in fornacem; trans. by Schofield (n. 27) 305.

factories, for this is the best.”²⁹ The possible relation of pigment production to different types of ancient “workshops” (ἐργαστήρια/*officinae*) will be addressed below; for the moment, we will focus on the different ingredients stipulated in the surviving formulae for black ink from the Roman period.

Like Pliny, Vitruvius also ends his description by providing the reader with simpler ways in which black ink/pigment could be manufactured:

Dry branches or small pieces of pitch pine should be burnt, then extinguished when they have turned to charcoal; then they should be ground up with size in a mortar. In this way the painters will be supplied with a fairly attractive black. Again, if wine-lees, dried and cooked in an oven and then ground with size, are applied to a revetment, they will produce a more pleasing than ordinary black: the better the wine from which the lees derive, the better will it imitate the colour not only of ordinary black but even of indigo.³⁰

The last chapter of Dioscorides’ herbal is devoted to μέλαν, because it apparently was considered a good application for gangrene and useful in scalds. In it he describes two types of black ink, a carbon and a mixed ink, respectively. Concerning the first, he writes:

The black ink with which we write is made from soot collected from torches. Three *oungiai* of soot are combined with one *oungia* of gum. It is also made from soot of pine resin and from the painters’ soot mentioned above.³¹

From the three descriptions provided by Pliny, Vitruvius, and Dioscorides of the manufacture of carbon black ink, it is clear that the necessary compounds could be obtained through a variety of different procedures, but also that a certain type of fine soot, considered the best for both writing and painting, was procured through the careful pyrolysis of resin or pitch

²⁹ Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 5.161: ἀσβόλη, ἣ οἱ ζωγράφοι χρῶνται, λαμβάνεται μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑελουργείων· διαφέρει γὰρ αὕτη; trans. by L.Y. Beck, *Pedanius Dioscorides of Anazarbus, De materia medica*, 2nd ed. (Hildesheim 2011) 405.

³⁰ Vitruvius, *De arch.* 7.10: sarmenta aut taedae schidiae comburantur; cum erunt carbones, extinguantur, deinde in mortario cum glutino terantur; ita erit atramentum tectoribus non inuenustum. non minus si faex vini arefacta et cocta in fornace fuerit et ea contrita cum glutino in opere inducetur, super quam atramenti suavitatis efficiet colorem; et quo magis ex meliore vino parabitur, non modo atramenti, sed etiam indicis colorem dabit imitari; trans. by Schofield (n. 27). Pliny reports on the same phenomena: “Some people calcine dried wine-lees, and declare that if the lees from a good wine are used this ink has the appearance of Indian ink,” Plin. *HN* 35.42: sunt qui et vini faecem siccant excoquant adfirmantque, si ex bono vino faex ea fuerit, indicis speciem id atramentum praebere; trans. by Rackham (n. 26) 292-293.

³¹ Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 5.162: μέλαν, ᾧ γράφομεν, σκευάζεται ἐκ λιγνύος συναγομένης ἐκ δαδίων. μείγνυνται δὲ πρὸς οὐγγίαν α’ τοῦ κομμέως οὐγγία γ’ λιγνύος. σκευάζεται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ῥητίνης λιγνύος καὶ ἐκ τῆς προειρημένης ζωγραφικῆς ἀσβόλης; trans. by Beck (n. 29) 405.

in “factories” (*officinae*/ἐργαστήρια). A similar resinous substance, that is “myrrh” (ζμύρνα), is the principal ingredient in the formulae for black ink found in the later Greek and Demotic magical papyri, where important phrases or potent symbols should be written with “myrrh”³² or using “myrrh ink” (Greek: ζμυρνομέλαν; Demotic: *ry.(t) n hl*).³³

Botanicals

The manufacture of black ink from incense was a time-honoured practice in Egypt, as can be inferred by the repeated instructions in medical and funerary papyri from the early New Kingdom (around 1550 BCE) onwards, which state that prescriptions and spells should be “written with frankincense” (*sh3 m 'ntyw*).³⁴ Similarly, in Spell 164 of the Book of the Dead, a picture is to be drawn on a red bandage with “dry frankincense” (*'ntyw šw*) and “fresh incense” (*sntr w3d*), and coloured with “ink” (*ry.t*).³⁵ Moreover, the Egyptian word used for “soot/charcoal” (*d'b.t*) is found in certain offering lists accompanying pigments in the form “soot/charcoal of *anet*” (*d'b.t 'n.t*),³⁶ and in one instance “soot” is described “as being *anet*” (*'n.t pw*).³⁷ The interpretation of this expression remains doubtful, but it seems possible that *anet* is an abridged writing of the word *anetyu* (*'ntyw*), “frankincense,” and that it refers to a carbon black obtained through the pyrolysis of resins.³⁸

³² For instance *PGM* I.1-42; IV.850-929, 930-1114.

³³ *PGM* III.165-186; IV.3209-3254; VII.467-477, 505-538; for Demotic examples, see F.L.I. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (London 1921) col. 5, l. 5, col.18, l. 31. For the use of myrrh in the *PGM* and in ancient Mediterranean ritual and pharmacology, see L.R. LiDonnici, “Single-Stemmed Wormwood, Pinecones and Myrrh: Expense and Availability of Recipe Ingredients in the *Greek Magical Papyri*,” *Kernos* 14 (2001) 65-79.

³⁴ *'ntyw* has for a long time been taken to mean myrrh, but according to É. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak* I (Cairo 1966) 217-223, who made an extensive study of the texts from the Ptolemaic period, the word, unlike Demotic *hr/hl*, has a wider meaning, and includes gum resins from several *boswellia* and probably also other resins from the Red Sea region. The literature on this problem has been collected by G. Charpentier, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l'Égypte antique* (Paris 1981) 161-165 (*'ntyw*) and 552-523 (*hry*; Demotic *hr/hl*; Coptic ⲥⲁⲗ), see M. Smith, *Papyrus Harkness* (*MMA* 31.9.7) (Oxford 2005) 99-100. For the use of *'ntyw* in ancient Egyptian pharmacology, Deines and Grapow (n. 18) 99-104.

³⁵ E. Naville, *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch* 1 (Berlin 1886) pl. 193, ll. 18-19.

³⁶ W. Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet* (Leipzig 1931) 44.

³⁷ G. Daressy, “Une inscription d'Achmoun et la géographie du nome libyque,” *ASAE* 16 (1916) 225; confer the writings of *anetyw* in Erman and Grapow (n. 8) 1.206.7

³⁸ Harris (n. 6) 159-160. As evidenced by the following recipe recorded in 1921, the use of incense as a source of soot for the inks of holy books was still practiced in the

In the Greek magical papyri there is a handful of elaborate formulae for carbon ink, which besides myrrh lists a series of further ingredients to be added, for instance in the following “memory spell” (μνημονική), where some divine names are to be inscribed on a Hieratic papyrus with a Hermaic myrrh ink consisting of:

- myrrh troglitis, 4 drams
- 3 Karian figs
- 7 pits of Nicolaus dates
- 7 dried pinecones
- 7 piths of the single-stemmed wormwood
- 7 wings of the Hermaic ibis
- spring water³⁹

It is only in this ink formula that a specific variety of myrrh is prescribed. The term τρωγλίτις is a form of τρωγλοδύτης, “cave dweller,” and Pliny uses this word, *trogodytica*, for the highest grade of myrrh, which comes from the Cave Dwellers’ land that he locates on the Red Sea coast.⁴⁰ He says it “is distinguished by its thickness and because it is rather dry and dusty and foreign in appearance, but has a stronger scent than the other sorts.”⁴¹

Both (Karian) figs, the stones of (Nicolaus) dates and wormwood are used in other elaborate formulae in the corpus, while dried pinecones are only applied in this spell. Common denominators are that they, like myrrh, are well-attested as medicaments in the pharmacological literature of the period, and that they were used throughout the ancient Mediterranean and Near East in a broad variety of religious, funerary, and honorific contexts.⁴²

Coptic Church in Egypt at the turn of the last century: “Put a quantity of incense on the ground, and round it place three stones or bricks, and resting on these an earthenware dish, bottom upwards, covered with a damp cloth; ignite the incense. Carbon is formed and is deposited inside the dish, from which it is removed and made into ink by mixing with gum arabic and water,” A. Lucas, “The Inks of Modern and Ancient Egypt,” *Analyst* 47 (1922) 13-14.

³⁹ *PGM* I.232-247: τρωγλίτις ζμύρνα δραχμαὶ δ’, ἰσχάδας Καρικὰς γ’, φοινίκων Νικολάων δστέα ζ’, στροβίλια ἄβροχα ζ’, ἀρτεμισίας μονοκλόνου καρδίας ζ’, ἰβέως Ἑρμαϊκῆς πετὰ ζ’, ὕδωρ πηγαῖον; trans. by H.D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation: Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago, IL 1986) 9.

⁴⁰ Plin. *HN* 6.189.

⁴¹ Plin. *HN* 12.69: probatur Trogodytica pinguedine et quod aspect aridior est sordidaque ac barbara sed acrior ceteris; trans. by H. Rackham, *Pliny, Natural History, Volume IV: Books 12-16* (Cambridge 1945) 51.

⁴² For wormwood, pinecones, and myrrh in the *PGM*, see LiDonnici (n. 33) 61-91. For the pharmaceutical use of figs (σῦκα) in the ancient Mediterranean, Dioscorides, *Materia*

While the reason for the admixture of most of these ingredients in ink remains obscure, the infusion of wormwood seems to have served a practical purpose, since both Pliny and Dioscorides note that it prevents mice from eating up the writing.⁴³ The decrepit and worm-eaten state of the majority of papyri that survive from antiquity amply demonstrates the threat that pest-attacks posed for the preservation of manuscripts.⁴⁴

Whatever the *raison d'être*, dried pinecones and seeds of dates were still regularly employed in the manufacture of carbon ink in the medieval Arab world. This is evident from the famous treatise on bookmaking attributed to Al-Muʿizz ibn Bādīs – fourth ruler of the Zirids in Ifriqiya – from the beginning of the eleventh century CE, where both are listed as essential ingredients in the first chapter of the work entitled on the making of the kinds of “soot ink” (*midād*).⁴⁵ In one of two complex recipes for “India ink” (*midād hindī*) that Ibn Bādīs provides in this chapter, he states that “pinecones” (*ṭamr aṣ-ṣanaubar*) advantageously could be added to a certain type of mixed ink:

Take two parts of cedar or dried fruit of the pine, or of them together. Put it into a new clay vessel and put it into an oven until it becomes charcoal. It is taken out the next morning and pulverized a day on a stone. It is soaked with water of cooked myrtle and a little of “vitriol” (*zāḡ*)⁴⁶ made according

Medica 1.128; in Ancient Egyptian they were named either *d3b* or *ḳntī* (Coptic: **κντε**), and they were used in medicine throughout Egyptian history; see Deines and Grapow (n. 18) 571-572; Manniche (n. 18) 102-103; Till (n. 18) 56. Dates, Egyptian *bnr* (Coptic: **βννε**), were employed for similar purposes and are attested in the same corpora; see Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 1.109; Deines and Grapow (n. 18) 172-179; Till (n. 18) 52; of this specific species (Nicolaus) nothing is known besides that it was of an exceptional size; see Plin. *HN* 12.45.

⁴³ Plin. *HN* 27.52; Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 3.23; that the ἀρτεμισία of the *PGM* spells can be equated with the ἀψίνθια of Pliny and Dioscorides is convincingly argued by LiDonnici (n. 33) 83-87; in the Arabic-Islamic Middle Ages, wormwood (*aṣ-sintin*) was used for similar purposes in ink manufacture; see Schopen (n. 2) 234.

⁴⁴ For instance, nine mouse/rat nests built out of hundreds of small strips of Egyptian and Greek papyri were found during the 2015 excavations of the temple precinct of Soknebtynis; see Gallazzi, *P.Tebt.6* (in press).

⁴⁵ Levey (n. 16) 15-18: *midād* (derived from *madd*, “to stretch out [the ink]”) indicates a paint type of ink whose most important ingredient is soot, while *ḥibr* (derived from *ḥabar*, “to write”) refers to an ink that reacts chemically with paper or parchment, usually a gall-vitriol type of ink; see Schopen (n. 2) 9-13; A. Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* (Leiden 2001) 27-28 (*ḥibr*), 133 (*midād*); A. Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography – Supplement* (Leiden 2008) 14 (*ḥibr*), 72 (*midād*).

⁴⁶ Probably *zāḡ* meant green vitriol, that is melanterite ($\text{FeSO}_4 \cdot 7\text{H}_2\text{O}$), though it was frequently confused with blue vitriol, *qalqant*, that is cupric sulphate pentahydrate ($\text{CuSO}_4 \cdot 5\text{H}_2\text{O}$); see Schopen (n. 2), 198-205; Gacek (n. 47) 62, 32 (supplement); and below under “mixed ink.”

to the mentioned description. It is completely pulverized with water of myrtle, and pulverized with water of gum in such quantity that there is for every *ratl* (12 ounces) of pulverized charcoal ink two ounces of water of gum. If a little more is added, it is not harmed. If it is too hard, take the gum from it and knead it. Put it in layers and leave it in the shade. It comes out beautifully.⁴⁷

Though “water of myrtle” (*mā’ al-ās*) is not mentioned in any of the preserved descriptions of ink manufacture from the Roman period, Dioscorides says that “myrtle” (μυρσίνη) – besides being applied in the treatment of ulcers, inflammations and erysipelas – is used to dye the hair black.⁴⁸ This might be what Celsus hints at, when he reports that the best way to cure baldness is to recurrently scrape the skin of the affected spot with a razor and thereafter smear a certain type of “black ink” (*atramentum scriptorium*) upon it.⁴⁹ Concerning “the seeds of the dates” (οἱ δὲ πυρῆνες τῶν φοινίκων) Dioscorides writes:

Date pits are burned in an unfired earthen vessel, like everything else, and then after they have been quenched with wine, they are washed and used as vegetable ash. They are suitable for paints of the eyelids and eyelashes and if burned insufficiently the process is repeated⁵⁰

In the already cited chapter on soot inks, Ibn Bādīs provides a recipe for a “Kufic ink” (*midād kūfī*) and a “Persian ink” (*midād fārisī*) respectively. Both inks are based on the careful pyrolysis of “seeds of dates” (*nawā at-tamr*) that are placed in a sealed (clay) vessel, which is heated in a furnace:

Take what you wish of the seed of dates. Then put it in a vessel and lute its mouth. Put it in a warm furnace a day and a night until it is burned. Then take it out. When it is cooled, open the vessel and take out the seed which has become like ash. It is well pulverized and sieved with the thick burned material. Then gum is taken and kneaded with it twice every day. It is made into cakes and then dried in the shade.

⁴⁷ Trans. by Levey (n. 16) 16; cf. Schopen (n. 2) 129-130.

⁴⁸ Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 1.112. In the fifth book (160) he reports that a type of bituminous earth called *ampelitis* in a similar way “is used for painting eyelids and eyelashes, for coloring hair ...” πρὸς καλλιβλέφαρα καὶ βαφὰς τριχῶν; trans. by Beck (n. 29) 405; cf. Plin. *HN* 35.194.

⁴⁹ Celsus, *Med.* 6.4.

⁵⁰ Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 1.109: οἱ δὲ πυρῆνες τῶν φοινίκων καίονται ἐν ὀμῇ χύτρᾳ καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, εἴτα σβεσθέντες, οἶνῳ πλύνονται καὶ εἰς ἀντίσποδα. εὐθετοῦσι δὲ εἰς καλλιβλέφαρα, κἂν μὴ αὐτάρκως καῶσι, πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεται; trans. by Beck (n. 29) 79.

Take the seed of the date that has been ripened in vinegar. Put it in a clay vessel. Take as much as you wish. Lute the vessel with “clay of the art” (*ṭin al-ḥikmah*).⁵¹ The luting is done after a cloth has been put over the mouth. It is set down until it is dried a little. Then, if it is desired, the firewood is lit. It is shaken from morning to night. If it is desired, it is introduced into “the furnace for the two kinds of glass” (*furn az-zağğāğīn*).⁵² When it is taken out of the fire, it is set down until it is cold. Then it comes out black like charcoal. It is then made into cakes as desired.⁵³

In the Greek magical papyri there are three further formulae for carbon ink, which are structured in a similar manner to the already cited formula and require many of the same components, but also differ in some respects. The first simply states that the mentioned botanicals should be pulverised and mixed:

- 3 dried figs
- 3 stones of the Nicolaus date
- 3 fragments of wormwood
- 3 lumps of myrrh⁵⁴

The second dispenses with the figs and the seed of dates, but adds cinquefoil: “In a purified container burn myrrh and cinquefoil and wormwood; grind them to a paste, and use them.”⁵⁵ The third formula includes vetch, branches of the male date palm and instead of myrrh prescribes “soot from a goldsmith” (αἰθάλη χρυσοχοϊκή):

- single-stemmed wormwood
- vetch
- 3 pits of Nicolaus date palms
- 3 Karian dried figs
- soot from a goldsmith
- 3 branches of a male date palm
- sea foam⁵⁶

⁵¹ Used by medieval Arabic alchemists and chemists to make an apparatus air- and water-tight; see Schopen (n. 2) 187-189.

⁵² Probably: “Glassblower’s furnace”; see Schopen (n. 2) s.v. *Glasbläserofen*.

⁵³ Trans. by Levey (n. 16) 16-17; cf. Schopen (n. 2) 53-54.

⁵⁴ *PGM* VII.993-1009: [ισ]χάδα(ς) γ’, φοινίκος ὅστᾱ Νικολάου γ’ καὶ ἀρτεμισίας ἄγματα γ’ καὶ ζυῖρνης χόν[δρ]ους γ’; trans. by Betz (n. 39) 144.

⁵⁵ *PGM* II.1-64: σμύρναν καὶ πεντεδάκτυλον βοτάνην καὶ ἀρτεμισίαν καύσας ἄ[γ]νῳς λειοτρίβησον καὶ χρῶ; trans. by Betz (n. 39) 13.

⁵⁶ *PGM* IV.3172-3208: ἀρτεμισία μονόκλωνος, κατανάγκη, ὅστᾱ φοινίκων Νικολάων γ’, Καρικαὶ ἰσχάδες γ’, αἰθάλη χρυσοχοϊκή, θαλλοὶ φοινίκος ἀρσενικοῦ γ’, ἀφρὸς θαλάσσης; trans. by Betz (n. 39) 100.

Like the other botanicals, vetch and cinquefoil were used in medicine in the ancient Mediterranean,⁵⁷ but unlike myrrh, wormwood, pinecones, and seeds of dates, they are only attested as components of carbon ink in the Greek magical papyri. The same holds true for soot from a goldsmith – although it is mentioned again in the corpus in two further formulae for carbon ink.

Blood of Animals and Soot of Metallurgists

The two formulae are structured in a dissimilar manner to the already cited ink formulae. The first simply states that the ink consists of “the blood of a serpent and soot of a goldsmith.”⁵⁸ In the second formula soot of a goldsmith is listed in an instruction for a “spell of attraction” (ἀγωγή) that is to be inscribed on three different writing surfaces with three types of soot dissolved in the blood of three different animals:

The hide is inscribed with blood of an ass from the heart of a sacrificial victim, with which is mixed the soot of a coppersmith. But the leaf of flax is inscribed with falcon’s blood, with which is mixed the soot of a goldsmith. But the leaf of the hieratic papyrus is inscribed with eel’s blood, with which acacia is mixed.⁵⁹

As with the wings/feathers of the ibis in the first ink formula cited from the Greek magical papyri, the purpose of mixing different types of animal blood into carbon ink is undoubtedly to ensure the efficaciousness of the given spell. Perhaps these ingredients, together with the recurring “magic” numbers in the formulae (3, 4, 6, 7, 9 [3 × 3]), should be taken *cum grano salis*, but it ought to be recalled that the snake, the falcon and the eel were viewed as abodes of gods and, like so many other animals in Late Period Egypt, were mummified on an industrial scale.⁶⁰ Moreover, the blood of a wide variety of animals (including the snake and the ass) was used in medicine throughout Egyptian history in the preparation of

⁵⁷ Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 4.42 (cinquefoil), 4.131 (vetch).

⁵⁸ PGM IV.1928-2005: αἷμα δρακόντειον καὶ αἰθάλη χρυσοχοϊκή.

⁵⁹ PGM IV.2006-2125: καταγράφεται δὲ ὁ μὲν ὕμην αἵματι ὀνείῳ ἀπὸ καρδίας ἐσφαγμένου, ᾧ συμμίσγεται αἰθάλη χαλκέως. τὸ δὲ τῆς καλπάσσου φύλλον αἵματι ἱερακείῳ, ᾧ συμμίσγεται αἰθάλη χρυσοχοῦ. τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ χάρτου αἵματι ἐνχέλεως, ᾧ συμμίσγεται ἄκακία; trans. by Betz (n. 39) 75.

⁶⁰ D. Kessler, *Die Heiligen Tiere und der König. I: Beiträge zu Organisation, Kult und Theologie der spätzeitlichen Tierfriedhöfe* (Wiesbaden 1989); M. Fitzenreiter, *Tierkulte im pharaonischen Ägypten* (München 2013).

drugs designed to treat different ailments.⁶¹ Therefore, these ingredients hardly represent “exotic” or unconventional commodities, but – like the botanicals mentioned above – could be acquired at market places and specialised workshops in the cities and larger towns of Late Period Egypt.⁶²

Like the “glass-working factory” (LSJ s.v. ὑελουργεῖον) from which Dioscorides says that the soot that painters use is procured⁶³ – workshops of gold and copper smiths are well-attested in Greek documentary and literary evidence from late period Egypt.⁶⁴ It is therefore worthy of note that the majority of the Theban Greek(-Demotic) papyri were acquired together with the Leiden-Stockholm (al)chemical treatises by the Alexandrian merchant and antiquarian Giovanni Anastasi not long before 1828 and that they undoubtedly derive from the same ancient archive/library.⁶⁵ These texts contain, among recipes for manipulating metals, dying techniques and counterfeiting precious stones, detailed formulae for the manufacture of silver and gilded inks;⁶⁶ for instance, *Papyrus Leiden X* (P.Leid. I 397) describes the preparation of a gilded ink based on a certain amount of gold, which is melted in a “goldsmiths’ crucible” (χῶνον χρυσοχοϊκόν).⁶⁷

While the link between the instruments used by the early alchemists and the tools and workshops utilised by the “Greco-Egyptian” craftsmen is still debated, the overlap between the practitioners, whom the Greek magical papyri address, and certain ἐργαστήρια/*officinae* is evident from the different spells or rituals in the corpus that guarantee profitable activity

⁶¹ Deines and Grapow (n. 18) 444-448 (Egyptian: *snf*); Till (n. 18) 51 (Coptic: *chnoq*).

⁶² For availability and expense of some of the botanicals mentioned in the *PGM*, see LiDonnici (n. 33) 61-91. An ethnographic parallel of the use of blood as a binding medium in carbon based black pigment is provided by the rock paintings of the Chumash Indians from the south-central coastal zone of California, who utilized the blood of humans and pronghorn antelopes as binding agents in the black pigments they applied in their ritual art, see D.A. Scott et al., “Blood as Binding Medium in a Chumash Indian Pigment Cake,” *Archaeometry* 38, no. 1 (1996) 103-112. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-4754.1996.tb00764.x.

⁶³ Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 5.161.

⁶⁴ M. Martelli, “Greek Alchemists at Work: ‘Alchemical Laboratory’ in the Greco-Roman Egypt,” *Nuncius* 26, no. 2 (2011) 271-311.

⁶⁵ K. Dosoo, “A History of the Theban Magical Library,” *BASP* 53 (2016) 251-274; G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind*, 2nd ed. (Princeton 1993) 168-176.

⁶⁶ R. Halleux, *Les alchimistes grecs, Tome I: Papyrus de Leyde, Papyrus de Stockholm, Recettes* (Paris 1981).

⁶⁷ Trans. by E.R. Carley, “The Leyden Papyrus X: An English Translation with Brief Notes,” *Journal of Chemical Education* 3, no. 10 (1926) 1159. doi: 10.1021/ed003p1149.

to unspecified workshops;⁶⁸ in one case the magical papyri describe the manufacture of a red (Typhonian) ink, which is prepared inside an ἐργαστήριον.⁶⁹ This relation between pigment production, workshops and early alchemy, will be developed further in the following section devoted to the few preserved written sources from the ancient Mediterranean that pertain to the manufacture of mixed ink, that is a carbon ink to which metallic substances have been added.

Mixed ink

The second part of the already cited formula by Dioscorides for the preparation of “black ink” (μέλαν) reads:

You must take one *mna* of soot, one and one-half *litra* gum, one and one-half *litra* bulls’ hide glue, and one and one-half *litra* copper sulfate.⁷⁰

Besides “copper sulphate” (χάλκανθον/χαλκανθές) the ingredients prescribed have already been addressed in the section on carbon ink. From the descriptions of χάλκανθον/*chalcanthon* provided by Dioscorides and Pliny it appears to be a (solid) residue in water, which possessed not only the appearance of, but also the virtues of blue vitriol or cupric sulphate pentahydrate ($\text{CuSO}_4 \cdot 5\text{H}_2\text{O}$).⁷¹ However, the same substance, *chalcanthon*, is identified by Celsus and Pliny with “shoemakers’ black” (*atramentum sutorium*), that is a dye for leather.⁷² This has led to some confusion in the history of vitriols, since a black dye cannot be obtained by tannic acid reacting with copper sulphates, but only with iron sulphates or green vitriol ($\text{FeSO}_4 \cdot 7\text{H}_2\text{O}$). Therefore, both the Greek and Latin terms must on occasion – besides blue vitriol – have been used for green vitriol

⁶⁸ For example *PGM* VI.2359-72, VIII.54-64.

⁶⁹ *PGM* XII.96-101; the papyrus reads ἡμερίου and therefore this recipe can perhaps be ascribed to the fourth-century physician Himerios; see Preisendanz *PGM* 2.64.

⁷⁰ Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 5.162: δεῖ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀσβόλης μὲν μίαν λαμβάνειν, κόμμεως δὲ λίτραν μίαν ἡμίσειαν, ταυροκόλλης οὐγγίαν μίαν ἡμίσειαν, χαλκάνθου οὐγγίαν μίαν ἡμίσειαν; trans. by Beck (n. 29) 405.

⁷¹ Plin. *HN* 34.123-127; Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 5.98; for a discussion of its properties and an evaluation of the classical sources, see Bat-Yehouda (n. 2) 357-362.

⁷² Celsus’ and Pliny’s *atramentum sutorium* (chalcanthum) is reminiscent of Dioscorides’ description of μελαντηρία (blacking), which may indicate that he distinguished between two types of vitriol: χάλκανθον/χαλκανθές being blue vitriol and μελαντηρία green vitriol; cf. Celsus, *Med.* 5.1, 5.7-8; Plin. *HN* 34.123-127; Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 5.101.

(copperas) as well.⁷³ That the two were often confused, was probably due to the fact that both vitriols – as was the case with almost all other chemicals used in antiquity – were found only in an impure state.⁷⁴

The Ancient Egyptian term “black stone” (*inr km*) can designate two quite different substances, namely black granite⁷⁵ and vitriol. In Demotic (*iny km*) and Coptic (ⲁⲛⲓⲕⲁⲙ) the word always refers to the second substance and seems, like χάλκανθον, to connote both “cupric sulphate” and “green vitriol” (*atramentum sutorium*/μελαντηρία).⁷⁶ The use of “vitriol” in a black ink/pigment is attested in a Demotic mortuary papyrus from the first century CE (P.MMA 31.9.7), where the mummy bandages of the deceased, Tanawerouw, are said to have been drawn with “the water of the fruit of the carob tree” (Demotic: *mw t-ir.t*; Coptic: ⲙⲟⲟϥ ⲙⲁⲓⲉⲣⲉ)⁷⁷ and coloured in “vitriol” (*iny km*).⁷⁸

A similar type of black ink is attested in the already cited work of Ibn Bādīs, where both “water from the fruit of the carob tree” (*mā’ al-ḥurnūb*) and “vitriol” (*zāḡ*) are enumerated in a formula for the preparation of a “powdered dry ink” (*ḥibr yābis dūrūr*):

Gallnut, gum arabic, vitriol, and acacia in equal parts are taken. All are pulverized with water of fresh St. John’s bread (fruit of the carob) until it is dried. It is then removed and dissolved with the necessary amount of gum water when it is needed.⁷⁹

The Demotic word for “vitriol” (*iny km*) also occurs in a list of stones and plants from the Roman period together with such items as “green eye paint” (*wṯ*), “black eye paint” (*mstmy*) and “great protection stone” (*iny sṣ-wr*)⁸⁰ – a substance employed in a manner similar to copper sulphate.⁸¹ Besides, as a component of black pigments, “vitriol” (*iny km*) is attested in both Demotic and Coptic medical treatises, specifically in the

⁷³ D. Goltz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnamen in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus* (Wiesbaden 1972) 152-154.

⁷⁴ Bat-Yehouda (n. 2) 360-362; Schopen (n. 2) 198-205.

⁷⁵ Harris (n. 6) 74.

⁷⁶ Crum, *Dict.* 12a; Till (n. 18) 98-99; Smith (n. 34) 98-99.

⁷⁷ For the medicinal use of the juice of this plant in Coptic pharmacology, see Till (n. 18) 67.

⁷⁸ P.MMA 31.9.7 (Papyrus Harkness), Smith (n. 34) col. 1, l. 6; M. Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2009) 279.

⁷⁹ Trans. by Levey (n. 16) 20; cf. Schopen (n. 2) 113-114.

⁸⁰ P.Berlin 8769; see W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen* (Leipzig 1902) pl. 98.

⁸¹ Harris (n. 6) 179, 234; Smith (n. 34) 99.

treatment of tumours and abscesses,⁸² while *chalcanthum/atramentum sutorium* – according to Celsus and Pliny – was applied partly in caustic and exedent medicaments and partly in salves designed to arrest hemorrhage and to clean wounds.⁸³

Not only *iny km* (ⲁⲛⲓⲕⲁⲙ) is used to designate sulphate of copper or iron in Demotic and Coptic, but also the Greek χάλκανθον (Coptic: ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲕⲁⲛⲑⲟⲥ). An early example of the use of this loanword in Egyptian is a Demotic/Hieratic medical compilation from the second century CE, where a powder for removing an abscess consists of a concoction of heated “copper?” (*mšy*), “orpiment” (*knw*) and “*qerekehentes-vitriol*” (*krkhnts*)⁸⁴ that is pulverised and mixed.⁸⁵ Like the arsenic sulphide orpiment (As_2S_3)/(para-)realgar (As_4S_4) mentioned in this medical recipe – which was regularly employed as a yellow/orange pigment in Ancient Egyptian funerary papyri from the New Kingdom onwards⁸⁶ – “shoemakers’ black” seems to have been highly toxic on occasion, since Cicero, in an undated letter to Papirius Paetus, writes that Gnaeus Carbo (the elder), when prosecuted by Marcus Antonius, poisoned himself using *atramentum sutorium*.⁸⁷

Metalloids

Related to χάλκανθον is χαλκῖτις (*chalcitis*), which according to Pliny and Dioscorides is a fossil substance, impregnated with the minerals σῶρι (*sori*) and μίσυ (*misy*).⁸⁸ Only conjectures can be made about the exact chemistry of these compounds, but it seems that *chalcitis* was a chalcopyrite (CuFe_2), while *sori* and *misy* respectively were the decomposed copper and iron sulphides contained within the pyrite.⁸⁹ The first two

⁸² E.A.E Reymond, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayum, Part I: A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis* (Vienna 1976) pls. 3, 6; Till (n. 18) 98-99.

⁸³ Celsus, *Med.* 5.1, 5.7-8; Plin. *HN* 34.123-127.

⁸⁴ It is also attested in the Demotic magical papyri, where it is written *g3lg3ntsy* and glossed in old Coptic ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲕⲁⲛⲑⲓ; see Griffith and Thompson (n. 33) col. 9, l. 14.

⁸⁵ P.Wien D 6257; see Reymond (n. 83) col. x+9, l. 14, plate 3; compare the translation of the passage by F. Hoffmann and J.F. Quack, “Demotische Texte zur Heilkunde,” in B. Janowski and D. Schwemer (eds.), *Texte zur Heilkunde* (Gütersloh 2010) 302.

⁸⁶ L. Lee and S. Quirke, “Painting Materials,” in Nicholson and Shaw (n. 3) 115-116; Di Stefano and Fuchs (n. 22) 230-233.

⁸⁷ Cic. *Fam.* 9.21: iam pater eius accusatus a M. Antonio sutorio atramento absolutus putatur.

⁸⁸ Plin. *HN* 34.117-122; Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 5.99-102.

⁸⁹ Goltz (n. 74) 154-157; Bat-Yehouda (n.2) 321-322 (*chalcitis*), 337-339 (*misy*), 351-352 (*sori*).

minerals are not attested as components of black ink, but both *χάλκαν-θον* and *μίσυ* are mentioned in one of the Greek magical papyri, where the following “formula” (*ἀναγραφή*) for the preparation of a mixed ink is provided:

- 1 dram of myrrh
- 4 drams of truffle
- 2 drams of blue vitriol
- 2 drams of oak gall
- 3 drams of gum arabic⁹⁰

While it is possible to translate *μίσυ* with “truffle,” as is done in Betz’s edition of the corpus, it seems a more probable alternative to equate it with the *misy* discussed above, since the only attestation given in LSJ for this word as a term for a specific variant of truffle is a fragment (n. 167) of Theophrastus.⁹¹ This is the choice of the first editor of the Greek magical papyri, Preisendanz, who renders it “Vitriolerz.”⁹² Because copper and iron vitriols are mixed with oak galls (containing tannic acid), the few researchers, who have commented on the formula classified the ink as being an “iron gall ink.”⁹³ However, myrrh, the primary ingredient of carbon ink in the Greek magical papyri, is added as well. Consequently, it should be categorised as a mixed ink according to the principles outlined above.

It is noteworthy that two different metal bearing minerals are included in the formula, since chemical analyses undertaken at the Louvre in the late 1980s of the black ink of five bilingual (Demotic/Greek) papyri from the Ptolemaic period, which were studied using proton induced X-ray emission (PIXE), demonstrated that all the Greek texts, besides one, were written with a type of “metallic ink,” which in the literature is referred to as being either an “encre métallique” or an “iron gall/mordant ink,” while all the Demotic texts were written with carbon ink.⁹⁴ The contents of these metallic inks were surprising in that besides iron (Fe), copper

⁹⁰ PGM XII.397-400: ζμύρνης δρακμή α', μίσυος δρακμαί δ', χαλκάνθου δρακμαί β', κηκίδων δρακμαί β', κόμεως δρακμαί γ'; trans. by Betz (n. 39) 167.

⁹¹ LSJ s.v. *μίσυ*.

⁹² Preisendanz, PGM 2.83.

⁹³ Bat-Yehouda (n.2) 94-95; M. Fackelmann, *Restaurierung von Papyrus und anderen Schriftträgern aus Ägypten* (Zutphen 1985) 28. For the use of gall-nuts in Mediterranean and Egyptian pharmacology, see Celsus, *Med.* 5.6-7; Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 1.107; Plin. *HN* 16.26-27; Till (n. 17) 58.

⁹⁴ Delange et al., (n. 2) 213-217; Leach and Tait (n. 3) 238; Bülow-Jacobsen (n. 4) 18.

(Cu) and lead (Pb) they contained traces of zinc (Zn), which suggested to the researchers that the inks had been made from many different metallic components.

Another finding was that unlike the iron gall ink from the Middle Ages and the pre-Modern era, which shows a substantial amount of Fe and sulphur (S), these ink samples had a marked lack of S. There was also a predominance of Cu in the samples as opposed to Fe, while the relation between the two elements is normally *vice versa*. This in turn led to speculation about the method of ink manufacture and the effects of ageing, and it has been suggested that carbonates were used instead of sulphates, or that the S “may have been incorporated into a gas or liquid compound, which could have disappeared over time.”⁹⁵

PIXE is not sensitive to carbon ($z \geq$ atomic number 11) and a pertinent question, in light of the ink formulae cited above, is whether these and other black metallic inks with similar characteristics should not be classified as mixed ink, rather than iron gall ink.⁹⁶ A possible explanation of the atypical chemistry of these ink samples could be that they were prepared from impure vitriols mixed with the charcoal or soot of burned botanicals. Alternatively, the black pigment might have been obtained as by-products from different workshops involved in the working of metals or the manipulation of vitreous substances, which again would explain the presence of metals in the ink.⁹⁷

In order to answer these questions with any kind of certainty further chemical analyses of the papyri in the Louvre is needed. However, concerning the last point, which has been touched upon above, it is important to note that Dioscorides (and Ibn Bādīs a thousand years later) in his formula for mixed ink prescribes soot that derives from glassmaking factories, since also another copper bearing pigment – “Egyptian blue” – undoubtedly was manufactured in production areas where both glass and blue/green faience were made.⁹⁸ This colour consists mainly of cuprorivaite ($\text{CaCuSi}_4\text{O}_{10}$) – containing variable amounts of wallontite (CaSiO_3), Cu-rich

⁹⁵ Leach and Tait (n. 3) 238.

⁹⁶ Compare the black ink found in the Herculaneum papyri, where small amounts of lead (Pb) have been mixed with the carbon compounds that constitute the major components of the pigment; see Brun et al. (n. 2) 3751-3754; Tack et al. (n. 2) 1-7.

⁹⁷ For example, *PGM* IV.2006-2125; Dioscorides, *Materia Medica* 5.161.

⁹⁸ For the relation between pigment production and glassmaking in Ancient Egypt, see A.J. Shortland, “The Implication of Lead Isotope Analysis for the Source of Pigments in Late Bronze Age Egyptian Vitreous Materials,” in P. Degryse, J. Henderson, and G. Hodgins (eds.), *Isotopes in Vitreous Materials* (Leuven 2009) 99-112.

glass, and cuprite (Cu_2O) or tenorite (CuO) – that is heated in a furnace at constant high temperatures (around $z \geq 900^\circ \text{C}$).⁹⁹

Moreover, two alchemical recipes, which are preserved in the two Syriac manuscripts from the sixteenth century and are ascribed to the first century philosopher (Pseudo-)Democritus, a contemporary of Dioscorides, prescribe that products closely related to the manufacture of mixed ink, *misya*, and copper, should be processed in “a glass-blower’s furnace” (*qamyna dzgwgya*).¹⁰⁰ Like the Leiden and Stockholm papyri discussed above, both Democritus’ *oeuvre* and the *Corpus alchemicum graecum* in general concern dying techniques, the making of gold and silver by treating base metals, and the counterfeiting of precious stones. It is clear that each of these τέχναι, like ancient Mediterranean pharmacology, was based on the use of specific tools and ingredients and related to the activity of specialised craftsmen, who, to judge from the textual sources reviewed so far, seem in one way or the other to have been involved in the manufacture of inks, paints, and dyes.¹⁰¹

The dyeing of clothes were done by the βαφεῖς and the working of metals by different craftsmen, such as the “experts at working gold” (χρυσόχοοι), “the experts at working silver” (ἀργυροκόποι), and the “experts at working copper/bronze” (χαλκεῖς/χαλκουργοί/χαλκοτύποι).¹⁰² Another particular expertise was necessary for producing fake precious stones, which involved the dyeing of white quartz by means of different minerals, a procedure clearly linked to the traditional Egyptian skill of producing glazed quartz and manipulating vitreous substances. Faking precious stones has been connected to the activity of glass-makers, whose furnaces are often mentioned in the alchemical texts.¹⁰³ All these activities are attested in Ancient Egypt since time immemorial and were often related to temple workshops. Furthermore, archaeological investigations

⁹⁹ Lee and Quirke (n. 86) 108-111; M. Ganio et al., “Investigating the Use of Egyptian Blue in Roman Egyptian Portraits and Panels from Tebtunis, Egypt,” *Applied Physics A* 121, no. 3 (November 2015) 813-821. doi: 10.1007/s00339-015-9424-5.

¹⁰⁰ M. Berthelot, *La chimie au Moyen Age* 2 (Paris 1893) 57.2-6 (Syriac text) and 102.1-7 (French translation); 58.14-21 (Syriac text) and 104.7-18 (French translation).

¹⁰¹ A survey of Egyptian craftsmen in the Roman Period is provided by P. van Minnen, “Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt,” *MBAH* 6.1 (1987) 31-87.

¹⁰² F. Burkhalter, “La production des objets en métal (or, argent, bronze) en Égypte hellénistique et romaine à travers les sources papyrologiques,” in J.-Y. Empereur (ed.) *Commerce et artisanat dans l’Alexandrie hellénistique et romaine (Actes du colloque d’Athènes, 11-12 décembre 1988)* (Athens 1998) 125-133.

¹⁰³ M. Beretta, *The Alchemy of Glass: Counterfeit, Imitation and Transmutation in Ancient Glassmaking* (Sagamore Beach, MA 2009).

have discovered different evidence of the continuity of such craftsmanship well into the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods.¹⁰⁴

Iron gall ink

When parchment in the early fifth century CE started to supersede papyrus as the primary carrier for written communication, the first definite formulae for iron gall mixtures were elaborated and adopted as a new kind of writing ink. Because of the different nature of the support, another, more adherent ink was required.¹⁰⁵ Thereafter, different types of iron gall inks became the standard for writing on parchment (and later on paper) throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. However, as already shown in the section on mixed ink, the chemical reaction between metallic salts (Fe/Cu?) and extracts of tannic acid was known long before it was regularly used in the manufacture of black ink.

The oldest ink formula, which employs both gallnuts and vitriol, was penned in the late second century BCE by Philo of Byzantium in the *Belpoeica*. In this work, Philo refers to an invisible ink, which could be used to send hidden messages during the siege of a town. It may be considered an unfinished or sympathetic ink and was composed of powdered gallnuts dissolved in water. As the mixture dried, the writing turned invisible, and the letters only became legible again when the writing was washed off with a sponge dipped in a solution of “vitriol” (χαλκοῦ δὲ ἄνθους = χάλκανθος).¹⁰⁶ Again χάλκανθος/χάλκανθον likely refers to green vitriol or ferrous sulphate rather than blue vitriol or cupric sulphate. This being said, it seems that at least basic copper acetate or copper carbonate could be used for similar purposes, since Pliny reports that the best way to detect whether “verdigris” (*aerugo*) has been adulterated is “by means of a papyrus previously steeped in an infusion of plantgall, as this, when smeared with genuine verdigris at once turns black.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Martelli (n. 64) 271-290.

¹⁰⁵ Fackelmann (n. 93) 28; Brun et al. (n. 2) 3751.

¹⁰⁶ Ph. *Bel.* 4.77: γράφονται δ' αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ εἰς καυσίαν καὶνὴν <ἢ> εἰς τὸν χρῶτα κηκίδος θλασθείσης καὶ ὕδατι βραχείσης. ξηρανθέντα δὲ τὰ γράμματα ἄδηλα γίνεται, χαλκοῦ δὲ ἄνθους τριφέντος ὥσπερ ἐν ὕδατι τὸ μέλαν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σπόγγου βραχέοντος, ὅταν ἀποσπογγισθῇ τούτῳ, φανερὰ γίνεται; cf. the translation of the passage by E. Diels and E. Schramm, *Exzerpte aus Philons Mechanik B.VII und VIII* (Berlin 1920) 79.

¹⁰⁷ Plin. *HN* 34.112: papyro galla prius macerato, nigrescit enim statim aerugine inlita; trans. by Rackham (n. 26) 211.

A sympathetic ink manufactured in a similar way to the one already described by Philo of Byzantium is preserved in the work Φιλοσοφούμενα, also known as *Refutatio omnium haerasium*, which is normally attributed to Hippolytus of Rome, who lived in the third century CE. In the fourth book of this work, which deals with diviners and magicians, it is described how a person, who wishes to consult a god or a demon, is advised by the “magician” (μάγος) to write his message to the deity, without informing the magician of the nature of his request, with a tincture or a decoction of gallnuts. Unbeknownst to the client, the magician thereafter immerses the document in a solution of vitriol and in this way becomes aware of its content:

The magician, while inside, puts blue vitriol in a vessel full of water and, after he dissolves the chemical, sprinkles the bit of papyrus that he has supposedly erased. By this means he forces the concealed and hidden letters to come again into the light and learns what the enquirer has written.

The magician in question must have been a gifted chemist, since he is both able to reverse the order of the process, that is write the text with a solution of vitriol and reveal the letters by fumigating them with a ground gallnut, and to obtain the same effect through different means:

Also, if someone writes with blue vitriol and fumigates it with powdered gall nut, the hidden words become plain. And if someone writes on papyrus with milk, scorches the papyrus sheet, then makes and sprinkles a powder on it, the letters written with milk become plain, when the powder is rubbed in. Moreover, urine, fish sauce, spurge juice, and fig juice create the same effect.¹⁰⁸

As with many of the other formulae for ink manufacture discussed in this article, counterparts for some of the curious sympathetic inks described by Hippolytus can be found in the eighth chapter – on recording secrets – of the later work by Ibn Bādīs:

White vitriol (*šabb*)¹⁰⁹ is used to write with. Then water of gallnut is smeared on. Or, water of gallnut is used to write with, and vitriol is smeared on. The

¹⁰⁸ Hippol. *Haer.* 4.28: (ὁς) δὲ ἔνδον (ὧν,) φιάλῃ ὕδατος πλήρει ἐμβάλων χάλκανθον καὶ τήξας τὸ φάρμακον, τὸ δῆθεν ἐξαλειφθὲν χαρτίον δι’ αὐτοῦ καταρράνας, τὰ φωλεύοντα καὶ κεκρυμμένα γράμματα πάλιν εἰς φῶς ἐλθεῖν ἀναγκάζει, δι’ ὧν μανθάνει ἅπερ ὁ πυθόμενος ἔγραφε ... καὶ διὰ τοῦ χαλκάνθου δὲ τις εἰ γράφειε καὶ τῇ κηκίδι ὑποθυμιάσειε λελειωμένη, φανερά γένοιτ’ ἂν τὰ κεκρυμμένα γράμματα. καὶ γάλακτι δὲ εἰ γράφειε τις, εἴτα χάρτην (τινὰ) καύσας καὶ λειώσας (καὶ) ἐπιπάσας τρίψει(εν) ἐπὶ τοῖς τῷ γάλακτι γεγραμμένοις γράμμασιν, ἔσται πρόδηλα. καὶ οὖρον δὲ καὶ γάρον καὶ τιθυμάλου ὁπὸς καὶ συκῆς ποιεῖ τὸ ὅμοιον; trans. by M.D. Litwa, *Refutation of All Heresies* (Atlanta 2016) 141.

¹⁰⁹ Probably “alum,” mixed with green vitriol, see Schopen (n. 2) 223; Gacek (n. 47) 40 (supplement).

well pulverized vitriol is sprinkled on and the writing appears ... Description of writing with milk. Write with yoghurt on paper and send it to whom it is desired. The other man will sprinkle on it ashes of *qarāṭīs*: this is from the burning of paper; its ashes are sprinkled.¹¹⁰

Conclusion

The review of the textual sources pertaining to the manufacture of black ink presented in this article conforms to the analytical record inasmuch as the bulk of the cited material clusters around carbon ink. The most common black pigments, lampblack of various sorts and natural black earth, are only briefly mentioned in the sources. Their preparation was too well known to be discussed. The major difference among the carbon inks is the botanical material from which the soot is prepared. Some ingredients are mentioned time and time again, for instance resin, pine, incense, and myrrh, while others are attested primarily in the Greek magical papyri, for example the seeds of dates, (dried) figs, pinecones, and so forth. Many of these ingredients were still used in the manufacture of ink by the Arabs of North Africa in the eleventh century CE as evidenced by the treatise of Ibn Bādīs.

By-products of metallurgy and of glaze and glass production, which seem in some way to be connected with early alchemy and the production of cosmetics, provided the raw material (soot) for some of the more refined black inks.¹¹¹ Formulae for mixed ink, where either copper/iron vitriol or related compounds should be added to a carbon ink, are preserved in an Egyptian funerary papyrus (P.MMA 31.9.7), the *Materia medica*, and the Greek magical papyri. Mixed ink can be considered a precursor for iron gall ink, two formulae for which are provided by Philo of Byzantium and Hippolytus of Rome respectively.

When the gallnut and ferrous sulphate inks described by these two authors were first applied in written communication proper cannot be inferred from the textual sources, but it is beyond doubt that the chemical reaction between tannic acid and iron sulphate (II) was well-known in the Roman Period. Further chemical analyses are needed to ascertain when

¹¹⁰ Trans. by Levey (n. 16) 35.

¹¹¹ Martelli (n. 64) 271-311; for the relation between glass-production and Egyptian kohl or black eye-paint, see A.J. Shortland (n. 98) 99-112; for the manufacture of cosmetics in general, see L. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries: Fragrance, Aromatherapy, and Cosmetics in Ancient Egypt* (London 1999).

iron gall ink first appeared on a writing medium in the ancient Mediterranean, since it is impossible to discern with our current knowledge of the chemistry of ancient black ink, whether the following description of a documentary papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, dating to 269 CE, pertains to a mixed ink or the earliest preserved instance of the use of an iron gall ink on a papyrus:

The ink used is of the reddish-brown variety commonly used in the Byzantine period for literary texts and sometimes for documents. It is interesting to find so early a dated instance for its use.¹¹²

Gum arabic was the most common additive in the inks, but glair seems also to have been employed – in the formulae from the Greek magical papyri, the blood of different animals are also used. Mild solutions of diluted vinegar or wormwood were added to arrest mould and prevent blight. The water applied to the inks is only mentioned, when the source is exceptional, for instance spring water and sea foam. The common denominator for all the ingredients mentioned in the textual sources is that they, besides in the manufacture of black inks, were used in Egyptian and Mediterranean pharmacology.

Appendix: Glossary of Selected Technical Terms

Egyptian

<i>iny s3-wr</i>	“great protection stone” (copper sulphate?)
<i>iny km</i>	blue/green vitriol
<i>inr km</i>	granite/vitriol
<i>’ntyw</i>	frankincense
<i>’ntyw šw</i>	dry frankincense
<i>’n.t</i>	frankincense?
<i>wt</i>	green eye paint
<i>bnr</i>	date
<i>mw t-ir.t</i>	water of the fruit of the carob tree
<i>mstmy</i>	black eye paint
<i>mšy</i>	copper?
<i>ry.t</i>	(black) ink/pigment
<i>ry.t n hl</i>	myrrh ink
<i>ry.t w3d.t</i>	red ink/pigment

¹¹² *P.Oxy.* 20.2269.1.

<i>hry/hl</i>	myrrh
<i>ht dđ(l)</i>	a particular type of wood
<i>snf</i>	blood
<i>sntr</i>	incense
<i>sntr w3d</i>	fresh incense
<i>šnd.t</i>	acacia
<i>kmī(.t), km3</i>	gum
<i>knw</i>	orpiment
<i>knti</i>	fig
<i>krkhnts (g3l3g3ntsy)</i>	blue/green vitriol
<i>d3b</i>	fig
<i>d'b.t</i>	charcoal/soot
<i>d'b.t n.t inb</i>	charcoal/soot from stone

Greek

αἰθάλη χρυσοχοϊκή	goldsmiths' soot
αἰθάλη χρυσοχόου	soot of a goldsmith
αἰθάλη χαλκέως	soot of a coppersmith
αἶμα δρακόντειον	snake blood
αἶμα ἱεράκειον	falcon blood
αἶμα ἐνχέλειον	eel blood
αἶμα ὄνειον	blood of an ass
ἄκακία	acacia
ἀντισπόδιον	vegetable ash
ἀργυροκόπος	silversmith
ἄρτεμισία	wormwood
ἄρτεμισία μονόκλωνος	single-stemmed wormwood
ἄσβόλη	soot
ἄφρὸς θαλάσσης	sea foam
ἄψινθία	wormwood
βαφεύς	dyer
γάλα	milk
γάρον	fish sauce
δαδίων	small torch
ἐργαστήριον	workshop
ζμύρνα	myrrh
ζμυρνομέλαν	myrrh ink
θαλλὸς φοίνικος ἀρσενικοῦ	branch of male date palm
ἰσχάς	dried fig
ἰσχὰς Καρική	Karian dried fig

κάλαμος	pen
καλλιβλέφαρος	paint for the eyelids and eyelashes
κάλπασος	flax
κατανάγκη	vetch
καυσία καινή	fresh skin
κηκίς	gallnut
κόμμι	gum
λείωσις	trituration
μέλαν	(black) ink/pigment
μελαντηρία	blacking/green vitriol?
μίςυ	iron sulphide?
μυρσίνη	myrtle
ὀπὸς τιθυμάλου	spurge juice
ὀπὸς συκῆς	fig juice
ὀστέον φοινίκος Νικολάου	stone of Nikolaus date
οὔρος	urine
πεντεδάκτυλος βοτάνη	cinquefoil
πτερὸν ἴβεως Ἑρμαϊκῆς	wings/feather of the Hermaic ibis
πυρὴν φοινίκος	stone/seed of date
ῥητίνη	resin (of the pine)
στρόβιλος ἄβροχος	dried pinecone
συκὴ	fig-tree
σύκον	fig
σῶρι	copper sulphide?
ταυρόκολλα	bulls' hide glue
τιθύμαλλος	spurge
τρογλίτις ζμύρνα	myrrh troglitis
τρογλοδύτης	cave dweller
Τυφωνίου μέλανος	Typhonian ink/red ink
ὕδωρ πηγαῖον	spring water
ὕελουργεῖον	glass-working factory
ὕμην	skin
φιάλη	libation bowl
φοῖνιξ	date palm/date
φοῖνιξ Νικολάου	Nicolaus date
φύλλον	leaf
χάλκανθον/χαλκανθές	blue/green vitriol
χαλκεύς	coppersmith
χαλκίτις	chalcopyrite
χαλκοῦ ἄνθους	cf. χάλκανθον

χάρτης	papyrus
χάρτης ἱερατικός	hieratic papyrus
χρυσόχοος	goldsmith
χύτρα ὠμή	unfired earthen vessel
χῶνον χρυσοχοϊκόν	goldsmiths' crucible

Latin

<i>aerea cortina</i>	bronze container
<i>aerugo</i>	verdigris
<i>atramentum</i>	(black) ink/pigment
<i>balnerius</i>	bath
<i>carbo</i>	charcoal
<i>facticius</i>	artificial (colour)
<i>faex vini</i>	wine-lees
<i>fornacula</i>	small furnace
<i>fornax</i>	oven, furnace
<i>fuligo</i>	soot
<i>fumus</i>	smoke
<i>glutinum</i>	glue/size
<i>gummi</i>	gum
<i>indici atramentum</i>	India ink
<i>indici color</i>	Indigo
<i>infectio</i>	dye
<i>laconicum</i> (scil. <i>balneum</i>)	Spartan sweating room
<i>librarium</i> (<i>atramentum</i>)	writing ink
<i>mortarium</i>	mortar
<i>officina</i>	workshop
<i>pix</i>	pitch
<i>resina</i>	resin
<i>sarmenta</i>	brushwood
<i>scriptorium</i> (<i>atramentum</i>)	writing ink
<i>sutorium</i> (<i>atramentum</i>)	shoemakers' black
<i>taeda</i>	pitch pine
<i>tectorium</i> (<i>atramentum</i>)	painters' black

Coptic

ⲁⲛⲓⲕⲁⲙ	blue/green vitriol
ⲃⲛⲛⲉ	date
ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲕⲁⲛⲑⲟⲥ	blue/green vitriol
ⲕⲟⲙⲙⲉ, ⲕⲟⲙⲙⲓ	gum (arabic)

ΜΟΟΥ ΜΧΙΕΙΡΕ
 ΧΒΒ(Ε)C
 ΨΟΝΤΕ

water of the fruit of the carob tree
 charcoal/soot
 acacia

Arabic

ʿafṣ
afṣintīn
atūn
fahm
furn
furn az-zağğāğīn
ğarra
hibr
hibr yābis dūrūr
laban ḥalīb
māʾ al-ās
māʾ al-ḥurnūb
midād
midād hindī
midād kūfī
midād fārisī
nawā at-tamr
qalqant
qulla
ramād
šabb
šalāya
šamğ ʿarabī
ṭamr aṣ-ṣanaubar
ṭīn al-ḥikma
zāğ

gallnut
 wormwood
 furnace
 charcoal
 oven
 glass-blower's furnace
 clay vessel
 ink (iron gall)
 powdered dry ink
 yoghurt
 myrtle water
 water of the fruit of the carob tree
 ink (carbon)
 India ink
 Kufic ink
 Persian ink
 seeds of the date
 blue/green vitriol
 (clay) vessel
 ash
 white vitriol
 ink stone
 gum arabic
 pinecone
 clay of the art
 vitriol

Syriac

qamyna dzgwgya

glass-blower's furnace

TWO B SCRIBES IN CODEX SINAITICUS?¹

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Abstract. — The history of scribal hand identification in Codex Sinaiticus is a fairly complicated one. The most recent identification, splitting the work of Tischendorf's scribe B in B1 and B2, was attempted by Amy Myshrall in a 2015 contribution, as a result of the work on the Codex Sinaiticus digitizing project completed in 2009. This article will assess the argument proposed by Myshrall for distinguishing the two new scribes, and it argues that there is not enough reason to adopt the newly proposed distinction.

Ever since Codex Sinaiticus entered the attention of the western academic world in the second half of the 19th century the number of scribes identified by scholars in it varied significantly. Tischendorf proposed four scribes, A, B, C, and D in 1862,² while Tregelles, who apparently consulted the manuscript “for three whole days” during that year, did not note enough difference to allow for more than one scribe.³ Five years later, Scrivener only accepted 2 scribes, scribe 1 and scribe 2, combining Tischendorf's scribes A and B on the one hand and C and D on the other.⁴

After the turn of the century, Traube considered that Tischendorf's fourfold division needed to be further refined, and eventually proposed no less than six scribes, splitting Tischendorf's A and B scribes into two further hands each (Sin. A^{1.2.3.4.6} and Sin. A⁵ on the one hand, B¹ and B^{2.3.4.5} on the other), keeping C and D^(1.2.3.4).⁵ Nonetheless, in the following years, Lake found it difficult to distinguish even A from B, but overall

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² A.F.C. Tischendorf, *Bibliorum Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus* (Petropoli 1862); A.F.C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Sinaiticum sive Novum Testamentum cum epistula Barnabae et fragmentis Pastoris ex Codice Sinaitico* (Lipsiae 1863) xxi.

³ As reported in F.H. Scrivener, *A Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus with the Received Text of the New Testament* (Cambridge and London 1867) xvi.

⁴ Scrivener (n. 4) xviii.

⁵ L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra. Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (München 1907) 66-71.

accepted Tischendorf's four scribes.⁶ The most complete treatment to date of all scribes in Codex Sinaiticus, which was accepted as the consensus and remained virtually unchallenged for seven decades, is Milne and Skeat's 1938 monograph, *Scribes and Correctors in Codex Sinaiticus*.⁷ After a survey of past takes on the matter, each hand is fully described and an argument is laid out for retaining A, B, and D as proposed by Tischendorf, as well as for splitting into two the work initially ascribed to scribe C and reassigning the parts to scribes A and D.

The latest instalment in the history of hand identifications in this manuscript is one of the outcomes of the digital Codex Sinaiticus Project (<http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/en/>), and has to do with scribe B, who, in the view of Tischendorf, Lake, and Milne and Skeat, wrote the prophetic books, *Lamentations*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. In essence, the new proposal, put forward by Amy Myshrall, is that scribe B should be split into B1 (Isaiah, Jeremiah and *Lamentations*) and B2 (the Minor Prophets and the *Shepherd*).⁸ The case for the B1/B2 distinction is interesting, clearly written and well-illustrated, resting on palaeographical evidence on the one hand, and on a selection of scribal habits on the other. This article will evaluate the new proposal, and based on further data will argue that there is not enough reason to adopt the newly proposed distinction.

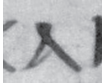





⁶ K. Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus: The New Testament. The Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas* (Oxford 1911) xviii-xix.

⁷ H.J.M. Milne and T.C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London 1938).

⁸ A. Myshrall, "The Presence of a Fourth Scribe?," in S. McKendrick, D. Parker, A. Myshrall, and C. O'Hogan (eds.), *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript* (London 2015), 139-148. As far as I am aware, this proposal was first announced during the Codex Sinaiticus Project conference at the British Library in July 2009 (the program is still available at <http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/en/project/conference.aspx>). It was also concomitantly adopted in the description of the manuscript on the website with the following note: "As a result of this transcription evidence has emerged that this scribe's pages may be the work of two scribes: B1 responsible for all the other work attributed to B; B2 copied the Minor Prophets and Hermas," at http://www.codexsinaiticus.net/en/project/transcription_detailed.aspx. The description of the leaves of the Minor Prophets and of the *Shepherd of Hermas* indicate that they were written by B2, whereas the description of Isaiah, Jeremiah and *Lamentations* indicate simply B. Before the 2015 publication, the volume which describes the codex and the digital project simply announce the distinction: D. Parker, *Codex Sinaiticus: The Story of the World's Oldest Bible* (London 2010) 49-50. It is worth to note at this point a singular reaction to the distinction which also precedes the publication of Myshrall's article: in a study of the variant readings in the so-called New Finds of Codex Sinaiticus, Paolo Cecconi takes note of the proposal on the Project website, but in the absence of reasoning in its support he ultimately rejects the proposal "dopo un attento esame delle sezioni attribuite a B1 e B2," on account of the common traits which are found more visible than the possible differences; see P. Cecconi, "Il Pastore di Erma e i nuovi fogli del Codex Sinaiticus," *Res publica litterarum* 33-34 (2010-2011) 112-143 at 114, n. 11.

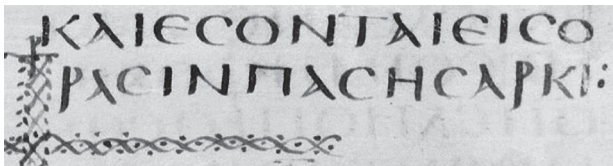
Palaeographical Evidence

Myshrall draws attention to a set of differences which are visible in the way a number of letters are written (her examples are reproduced in the table below), mainly α , δ and λ , then further differences are discussed with regard to serifs, rounded strokes, the way $\kappa\alpha\iota$ compendium is drawn, and the treatment of supralinear strokes of *nomina sacra*.

Scribe B1 (Myshrall)	Scribe B2 (Myshrall)
	
	
	


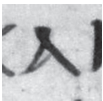

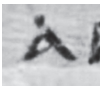

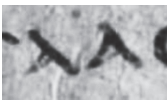




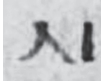
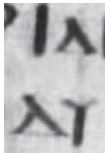
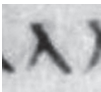




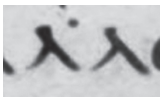
So far as α is concerned, B1 is defined by the tendency to join the two main strokes at the top, leading to a triangular form of the letter, with the lower cross bar underneath slightly curved. By contrast, B2 is defined by his drawing of the left stroke significantly lower, which, together with the stroke underneath, forms a hoop of “a distinctive triangular shape.”⁹

Then δ and λ are described along the same lines: B1 joins the left and right diagonal strokes at the top, whereas B2 starts the left stroke at a lower position, around the middle of the right stroke. With the examples offered by Myshrall reproduced here, the case may at first seem convincing – on condition that it is really maintained throughout by both hands. But that is not as clear as these images alone suggest since, as will be shown shortly, both suggested scribes use the two shapes all along, despite what might seem to be B1 or B2’s preference for the respective types of letters.



⁹ Myshrall (n. 8) 140.

Indeed, one may need to give full consideration to the fact that the suggested scribe B1 can and does write letters characteristic for the suggested scribe B2, just as B2 can and does write characters in a manner which is otherwise used to define B1. One example (illustrated above) is offered by Myshrall: at the end of Isaiah (Q46 F3r), “Scribe B1 uses the same shape alpha as Scribe B2 at the very end of the book before the colophon,” which she explains away as something that Scribes A and D do as well, concluding that for the case made “perhaps Scribe B1’s limited use of this form should not be overly concerning.”¹⁰ However, this overlap is not restricted to only the last lines of Isaiah, as further examples of B2 letters can be found throughout Isaiah, assigned otherwise to B1. A selection is offered in the first column in the table below, followed in the next two columns by Myshrall’s selection of B1 and B2 types.




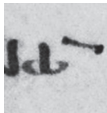


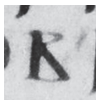



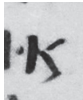


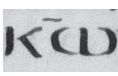
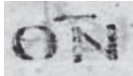
B2 letters in B1’s works (Isaiah)	Scribe B1 type of letter (Myshrall)	Scribe B2 type of letter (Myshrall)	B1 letters in B2’s works (<i>Shepherd of Hermas</i>)		
					
					
					

Furthermore, as can be seen in the last three columns of this table, such examples can be found on the designated B2 side as well. In the first page of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, which the new proposal assigns to B2, the scribe does use B2-type of α indeed, but can also write B1 α , with a more triangular aspect. In fact, the scribe can write B1 *and* B2 α next to one another (top right in the table). And, as can be seen under the α samples, the same goes in both respects for δ and λ in the first two leaves of the

¹⁰ Myshrall (n. 8) 146.

Shepherd of Hermas, and this includes writing both type of letters in the vicinity of one another (the sixth column above). To be more precise, what we are seeing in the first, fourth, fifth and sixth columns, and indeed throughout all prophetic books and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, are intermediate variants that belong to a spectrum which has, as its opposite ends, the clearly distinguishable examples selected by Myshrall.

Such counter-examples can be found for most of the palaeographical evidence proposed by Myshrall. Indeed, the author notes further palaeographical differences in the way of drawing the following elements¹¹: small serifs and lack thereof at the end of vertical strokes for ρ (exemplified in the first two column of the table below), ι and ψ; anchorate ω at the end of line, which B1 draws with a double curve, and B2 with a single one; rounded strokes on letters like β (illustrated below, understood to have an enlarged lower bowl in the case of B1) and φ; the καί compendium is written with a longer final stroke by B1 than B2; in the case of (two-letter) *nomina sacra*, the supralinear strokes of B2 seem to be shorter than those of B1. All these differences are striking in this selection of Myshrall's examples, clearly presented and, for the most part, apparent.

Scribe B1 (Myshrall)	Scribe B2 (Myshrall)	<i>Shepherd of Hermas</i> (B2)
		
		
		
		
		

¹¹ Myshrall (n. 8) 142-144.

However, serifs are present not only in B1's works, but also in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, as early as its second line (perhaps even in the first). Although the form preferred in the *Shepherd of Hermas* seems to be that assigned by Myshrall to Scribe B2, throughout its text there are also occasional small but clear serifs on the lower end of the vertical strokes of ρ (see the table on the previous page), κ, υ, ι and ψ. Many of them look like intermediary forms between the two examples offered by Myshrall, and so are many letters in Isaiah (B1).

The nine folios of the *Shepherd of Hermas* also contain several anchorate ω which do not lack the double curve, this lack being suggested otherwise as characteristic of scribe B2. The difference proposed in the case of the β (that B1 writes a proportionally larger lower bowl than B2) however, looks more like a difference in the thickness of the strokes, which leaves a smaller space inside the lower bowl in B2 illustration of the letter.¹² In any event, the scribe in the *Shepherd of Hermas* too writes fairly disproportionate-bowl β, as illustrated in the third column above. As to the superlinear strokes of two-letter *nomina sacra*, the scribe of this book clearly writes both shorter and longer ones (the one on the bottom right of the table belongs to the first hand, and is not a correction by a Ca corrector), even though shorter ones seem to be slightly more frequent. Examples can be seen in the table on the previous page.

To sum up, this second group of letters is even less indicative of two scribes than the letters α, δ and λ. And, based on this analysis, the palaeographical evidence seems to fit better the view that Myshrall's examples of B1 and B2 indicate – instead of two different scribes – two differing tendencies and the range of the same scribe.¹³

Myshrall addresses toward the end of her article a possible counter example to her proposal: the possibility that we are dealing with an evolving scribe, who, between writing Isaiah and the Minor Prophets, underwent a somewhat dramatic change in style, given that elements in the definition of B1 can intermingle with elements in the definition of B2 within the same book, notably in the case of Jeremiah and Lamentations. Myshrall ultimately rejects this possibility as unlikely, suggesting instead

¹² In my view, the suggestion that the “upper stroke of the lower bowl [of B2 *beta*] has a tendency to descend at a more acute angle” than B1 – Myshrall (n. 8) 143 – is not apparent enough from Myshrall's sample to really matter.

¹³ Variation in a scribe's writing manner of the same letter is not unusual; see, for instance, the examples and description in P.J. Parsons, “The Scripts and their Date,” in E. Tov et al. (eds.), *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXII gr)* (Discoveries in the Judean Desert 8; Oxford 1990) 19–26, esp. 19–22.

that this is more a matter of deciding where B1 ends and B2 starts in Jeremiah, a matter to be dealt with in future research. Yet the present analysis shows that common elements are not only present in Jeremiah and Lamentations, but also in Isaiah and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, whose assignment to B1 and B2 respectively is proposed as unquestionable. Indeed, the fact that both B1 and B2 can and do write the other's letters as well should lead us to ponder at what point is it necessary to multiply *entia*, and indeed whether this is necessary at all in this case.¹⁴ In the light of this, an evolving same scribe scenario is more likely: scribe B writes letters with both B1 and B2 characteristics (as well letters on the spectrum between B1 and B2), but in such a manner that B1 features are predominant in the first books she or he writes, and B2 features become predominant as the copying process reaches the last books.

Elements of Scribal Behavior

Myshrall also discusses two elements of scribal behavior: the erasures by the first hand, and the spelling of the *nomina sacra*. With regard to the latter, the author points out that B1 offers somewhat unusual forms in Isaiah, for instance “ΠΠΟΣ for ‘father’ rather than the more usual ΠΠΣ,” “Jerusalem” written as IEAM and IAM or IEAHM, “Israel” as IHA. This is set in contrast with B2's *nomina sacra* in the Minor Prophets, where ‘Jerusalem’ is “presented far more consistently as IHM, and ‘Israel’ is ... commonly presented as IEA.” Myshrall rightfully notes that “this evidence should be treated with caution,” since “the variations in *nomina sacra* could be explained by a change of exemplar.”¹⁵ Indeed, these can also be explained by their presence in the exemplars, irrespective of how many scribes copied them in Codex Sinaiticus. As such, these differences hardly provide support for the case.

With regard to the other element of scribal behavior, Myshrall suggests that “in the work of Scribe B2, there are proportionally more first hand

¹⁴ For instance, M. Konstantinidou, “Identifying Hands: Same Book or Same Scribe? A Case Study of some Plato Papyri,” in T. Gagos et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor, July 29–August 4, 2007* (Ann Arbor 2010) 355–364 at 355, notes: “The inconsistency in the way certain letters are formed by a single scribe, often within the same manuscript, is well known and it is indeed used cautiously as an identification criterion. The danger in using the formation of letters does not lie in using similarities to prove that a text is by the same scribe, but rather in using differences as proof that they are by two different scribes.”

¹⁵ Myshrall (n. 8) 145–146.

corrections by erasure and rewriting, which is striking after Scribe B1's Isaiah."¹⁶ If this could be shown to happen consistently – and by the same hand – it would indeed be a significant difference in scribal behavior. It would be perhaps less clear what this variation in scribal behavior might indicate, whether a different scribe, or simply an occasional lack of attention on the part of the (same) scribe. However, the work ascribed to B1 does contain a sizeable number of such first hand corrections by erasure and rewriting. Indeed, on the eight leaves of the first quire of Isaiah there are no less than 30 instances,¹⁷ compared to only five in the nine (of which one is incomplete) leaves of the *Shepherd*.¹⁸ Moreover, the whole Isaiah has around 95 such corrections spread on 27 leaves, whereas the 16 leaves of the Minor prophets and the nine leaves of the *Shepherd* taken together yield a similar number of such corrections (90), on a similar number of leaves (25). This goes to say that the scribal behavior concerning first-hand corrections by erasure and overwriting does not provide evidence for two B scribes.

Further Scribal Behavior

Finally, a particular weakness of the argument for the B1/B2 distinction is related to the fact that the interaction with past scholarly descriptions of scribe B is limited. To state the facts briefly, if Tischendorf noted that “B prophetas et Pastoris librum [scripsit]”¹⁹ (with no further description

¹⁶ Myshrall (n. 8) 144. At 145, the author adds: “the Scribe B2 corrections are also different to those of Scribe B1, who tended to correct in a very tiny hand, rather than by erasure and rewriting. It is likely that Scribe B1 conducted the διόρθωσις (correction process) for the Prophetic books section, where the copy was checked against the exemplar.” Indeed, such correction written superscript in very small letters appear in books ascribed to B2. There are, for instance, ten examples in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, discussed in D. Batovici, “Textual Revisions of the Shepherd in Codex Sinaiticus,” *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 18 (2014) 443-470 at 450. Yet whether these tiny corrections are to be attributed to B1 or not is precisely the question. Simply affirming it as support for the B1/B2 divide would involve a certain degree of circularity. In any event, they do not constitute positive evidence for the B1/B2 proposal.

¹⁷ These are all on quire 43: Folio 1r, column 3, line 4; F4v, c. 4, l. 23; F4v, c. 3, l. 10; F4v, c. 4, l. 29; F5r, c. 1, l. 2-3; F5r, c. 1, l. 12; F5r, c. 4, l. 34-35; F5r, c. 3, l. 35-36; F6r, c. 1, l. 29; F6r, c. 2, l. 9; F6r, c. 3, l. 38-39; F6r, c. 4, l. 32; F6v, c. 1, l. 20; F6v, c. 2, l. 14; F6v, c. 2, l. 16; F6v, c. 3, l. 47-48; F7r, c. 1, l. 2; F7r, c. 1, l. 20; F7r, c. 3, l. 10; F7r, c. 3, l. 20; F7r, c. 4, l. 3; F7r, c. 4, l. 26; F7v, c. 1, l. 21; F7v, c. 1, l. 24; F7v, c. 2, l. 27; F7v, c. 2, l. 30; F7v, c. 2, l. 38; F7v, c. 3, l. 12; F8r, c. 2, l. 48; F8r, c. 3, l. 6.

¹⁸ Presented in Batovici (n. 16) 448.

¹⁹ Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Sinaiticum* (n. 2) xxi. On this, Milne and Skeat (n. 7) 18 note: “In no case does he (Tischendorf) give any details of the characteristics of the various hands he professed to identify, and we must assume that, in the main, he was guided solely by the general appearance of the script.”

of the hand), Traube divided scribe B in two hands. This is of course “of particular interest”²⁰ for the case for B1/B2 distinction, although Traube clearly groups Jeremiah and Lamentation with the Minor Prophets and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, not with Isaiah as the new proposal does.²¹ Yet the accuracy of Traube’s hand divisions – which he also never explains – has been questioned by Lake on the one hand and by Milne and Skeat on the other, on the basis that in the absence of a sustained argument on Traube’s part, the variation in the treatment of *nomina sacra* is not a sound basis for distinguishing scribes from one another.²²

The most extended treatment of scribe B, however, comes from Milne and Skeat.²³ Myshrall mentions their account of B’s orthography and admits that the impression of a poor speller does not change from B1 to B2, further suggesting that there might have been two poor spellers at work in the manuscript. However – even though in all fairness it is not the aim of her essay, which is to present some interesting evidence, and it does that – a more thorough interaction with Milne and Skeat’s account of B’s orthography would have been particularly welcome, especially since some of the evidence put forward by them is rather damaging for the case of the B1/B2 distinction. For instance, Milne and Skeat note the κε spelling for καί which is “found in, e.g., Isa. xxii. 24, Jer. vii. 25, *Hermas* Vis. II. i. 1,” and, even more significantly the “frequent error ... produced by metathesis, σεται for ἔσται (Isa. xxxv. 6), ... ἀνδιρ for ἀνδρι (*Hermas*, Mand. IV. i. 8).”²⁴ Since they also argue that “the extremely illiterate spelling [is] due not to the exemplar (for it has invaded *Hermas* as well) but to phonetic rendering,”²⁵ these and other examples they offer show indeed a peculiar set of errors that are not in keeping with a B1/B2 distinction. Furthermore, Milne and Skeat’s account extends beyond just the orthography of B: after a historical retrospect, B is defined based on

²⁰ Myshrall (n. 8) 139.

²¹ Traube (n. 5) 68–69.

²² Lake (n. 6) xix; Milne and Skeat (n. 7) 19–20: “It is perhaps hardly necessary to refer to the fantastic suggestion of Traube that there were really six scribes [in Codex Sinaiticus]. This number he obtained by differentiating (...) the B who wrote Isaiah from the B who wrote the remainder of the Prophets and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. No concrete arguments were vouchsafed for this opinion, which seems to rest upon slight inconsistencies in the use of *nomina sacra*, and Traube himself admits that such variation might be due to a change of exemplar, if not simply to consideration of space.”

²³ Milne and Skeat (n. 7) 18–29.

²⁴ Milne and Skeat (n. 7) 55, where they also offer a third example: “διαμειν for διαμένει (Jer. iii. 5).” However, the manuscript reads διαμενι, quire 46, f.4v, on the first column.

²⁵ Milne and Skeat (n. 7) 23.

a number of features, namely the compression of letters at the end of line, the position of the crossbar denoting *v* at the end of line, the shape of the anchorate *ω* at end of line, the surviving colophons, and then B's peculiar orthography.²⁶ All these arguments still stand, and since most of these features remain both peculiar *and* common to all works attributed to scribe B, they too speak against the proposed B1/B2 divide.

Conclusion

The above analysis is an evaluation of a recent proposal according to which in the books ascribed to scribe B in Codex Sinaiticus should be split and reassigned to two scribes, B1 and B2, with Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamentation written by the former, and the Minor Prophets and the *Shepherd of Hermas* written by the latter.²⁷ On the one hand it is shown that the palaeographical features used to describe B1 also appear in B2's work, just as those used to describe B1 appear in the books written by B1, and on the other that a number of scribal features are either irrelevant for distinguishing two scribes, or are peculiar enough to point to one scribe. As such, in view of the data presented in this article, I would argue that despite the differences, the commonalities – which include a shared use of what is proposed as distinctive – remain more important.²⁸ Rather than indicators for two different scribes, the pairs of clearly differing types of writing down the same letter seem to encompass the variation in writing of the same, inconsistent, likely evolving scribe B, with poor orthography. To conclude, the recent proposal leaves us – if not with a B1/B2 distinction – with a very interesting scribe B, who along 88 (grand format, four columns) surviving leaves, moves from using predominantly B1 to using mostly B2 shaped letters.

²⁶ Milne and Skeat (n. 7) 18-29.

²⁷ Myshrall (n. 8).

²⁸ This confirms Cecconi (n. 8) 114, n. 11, who notes that in the absence of an argument for the B1/B2 distinction (his article was published before Myshrall's argument appeared in print), "dopo un attento esame delle sezioni attribuite a B1 e B2, riteniamo siano molto più evidenti le loro caratteristiche in comune delle presunte differenze e continuiamo a considerarle riconducibili al medesimo copista."

THE CROCODILE PIT OF MAABDEH, FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM'S ACQUISITION OF THE HARRIS HOMERS

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Abstract. — Two manuscripts of the *Iliad* acquired in the middle of the nineteenth century by Anthony Charles Harris, the famous “Harris Homers,” are usually said to have been discovered at “the Crocodile Pit at Maabdeh.” The British Museum eventually bought both manuscripts. Yet, the details of both Harris’s acquisition of the manuscripts and their sale to the British Museum are murky. The earliest relevant sources, which seem to have been lost to scholarship, contradict each other as well as later accounts. This article reviews what can be known about the provenance and collection history of the manuscripts and introduces new evidence in the form of unpublished letters of Florence Nightingale that mention the sale of Harris’s collection of Egyptian antiquities.

In the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (hereafter LDAB), two copies of Homer’s *Iliad* are attributed without question to the cliffs of Maabdeh on the east bank of the Nile some 30 km north of Asyut (ancient Lycopolis).¹ These are the famous Harris Homers. One of them, P.Lond. 107 (= *P.Lond.Lit.* 25 = LDAB 1461), is a papyrus roll containing book 18 of the *Iliad*, now generally assigned to the first or second century CE. The other, P.Lond. 126 (= *P.Lond.Lit.* 5 + 182 = LDAB 2419 + 110341), is a curious single-quire papyrus codex with nine surviving sheets (= 36 pages) containing parts of books 2-4 of the *Iliad* copied only on the right-hand pages. On the blank left-hand pages different hands inscribed some accounts and a portion of a grammatical treatise by a certain Tryphon, copied upside down relative to the Homer text. The codex is usually assigned on palaeographic grounds to the third century CE. There is considerable confusion in the literature about the origins of these manuscripts, and the earliest sources relating to their acquisitions seem to have been forgotten by scholarship. The following is an attempt to gather the sources and sort out the facts.

¹ The pieces are regularly attributed to Maabdeh in the literature. The only note of skepticism in recent years are P. van Minnen and K.A. Worp, “The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Hermopolis,” *GRBS* 34 (1993) 151-184, at 158, n. 19, and K.A. Worp, “A Note on the Provenance of Some Greek Literary Papyri,” *JJP* 28 (1998) 203-218, at 212.

British Museum publications from the late nineteenth century describe these two manuscripts of the *Iliad* as having both originated at the “crocodile pit” of Maabdeh. They are said to have been acquired by Anthony Charles Harris (1790-1869) on two separate occasions.² The roll was reportedly bought from a dealer in 1849.³ The codex was supposedly found at the pit by Harris himself in 1854.⁴ After his death, they were described as being sold (again, separately) to the British Museum. The roll was said to have been sold with other manuscripts by “his widow” in 1872, and the codex is listed among the Museum’s acquisitions of 1888.⁵ The story of their origins at the “crocodile pit” is repeated with

² On Harris, see A. Capone, “Anthony Charles Harris (1790-1869),” in M. Capasso (ed.), *Hermæ: Scholars and Scholarship in Papyrology*, vol. 2 (Pisa and Rome 2010) 17-19.

³ The Harris Homer roll appears among the acquisitions of the British Museum for the year 1872 with the following note about provenance: “purchased of the widow of Mr. A. C. Harris...They were obtained by Mr. A. C. Harris, of Alexandria, from an Arab who had discovered them in ‘the crocodile pit’ at Ma’abdey, near Monfalat, in Egypt, on the 9th of December, 1849. From the same tomb Mr. Harris obtained fragments of another MS. of the *Iliad*, having on the back a work of Tryphon, the grammarian” (*Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLIV-MDCCCLXXV*, vol. 2 [London 1877] 832-833). The curiously precise date of discovery is wrong, as Harris already owned the papyrus in August of 1849 (see below). The statement that the roll was sold by Harris’s widow is not correct, as Harris had no widow and left his estate to his daughter, Selima Harris (ca. 1827-1899). On Selima’s efforts to sell her father’s collection, see below.

⁴ Of the Harris codex, we are told “The MS. was discovered in 1854 by Mr. A. C. Harris in the Crocodile Pit at Ma’abdeh (whence he had previously obtained Pap. CVII), and was sold to the Museum in 1888.” (*Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLXXXVIII-MDCCCXCIII* [London 1894] 391). The codex could not have been discovered in 1854 because it was already in the possession of Harris in 1850 (see below).

⁵ I have not been able to ascertain the exact whereabouts of the *Iliad* codex between its acquisition by Harris and its sale to the British Museum. At the time the British Museum acquired the codex, it is said to have been in the possession of Hilton Price (W.R. Dawson, “Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and Their Papyri,” *JEJ* 35 [1949] 158-166, at 164, n. 6). In 1910, Gustav Uhlig related a story that Harris’s daughter had tried and failed to sell the codex (along with the arm of a mummy that Harris had claimed was that of Tryphon the grammarian) to the British Museum for an exorbitant amount of money before later selling the items at a reduced price. Uhlig also stated that he had inspected the codex in 1886 in a bank in London. See Uhlig, *Apollonii Dyscoli quae supersunt, Volumen II: Apollonii Dyscoli De constructione libri quattuor* (Leipzig 1910) vii, n. 1: “nec minus tribuit Harrisii filia Selima huic codici, quem patre mortuo hereditate acceperat. nam custodi codicum manuscriptorum Musei Britannici thesaurum offerens decem milia aureorum poposcit. quod cum Thompsonus ioci causa dictum putaret, illa respondit minime se iocari: neque enim minoris pretii haec folia esse quam picturam Raffaellis. at post aliquot annos vendidit ea Museo summa multo minore. ... ego folia inspexi 1886 in argentaria Londonensi, ubi asservabantur, antequam in museum migraverunt.”

some variation in numerous publications of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶

The “crocodile pit” of Maabdeh was a regular stop on the itinerary for European travelers in the nineteenth century. While access to the actual deposits of mummies was said to be somewhat challenging, the guide books encouraged a visit, some even mentioning Harris’s alleged discoveries at the site:

On the summit of the rocks of Gebel Aboofayda, near their southern end, are the caverns of *Maabdeh*, commonly called the *crocodile-mummy pits*. The entrance to them is through a natural fissure in the rock at the top. Besides the thousands of crocodile mummies which fill the interior, there are several human mummies, some gilded from head to foot, and others less richly decorated. These caverns have never been thoroughly explored, and much, no doubt, yet remains to be found in them. Here Mr. Harris met with his interesting fragments of Homer on papyrus. Candles, matches, rope, and water should be taken if it is intended to penetrate into the caverns. There is no danger attending this attempt; but it is fatiguing, and the confined space, and close, stifling atmosphere may produce unpleasant effects. The best place to go from, coming down the river, is a village called Shalaghéel.⁷

On occasion, it is claimed that Harris himself discovered not only the codex but also the roll in the crocodile pit.⁸ In other instances, the famous Hyperides manuscript that was also obtained by Harris (LDAB 2423) is

⁶ See, for example, F.G. Kenyon, *Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum* (London 1891) 81 and E.M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford 1912) 96.

⁷ [J.G. Wilkinson], *A Handbook for Travellers in Egypt*, 4th ed. (London 1873) 367. Narratives of visits to the caves become progressively more harrowing the earlier one looks: See, for example, “The Crocodile Mummy-Pits of Maabdeh,” *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* 40 (1843) 211-216; J.A. St. John, *Egypt, and Mohammed Ali; Or, Travels in the Valley of the Nile*, vol. 2 (London 1834) 166-175; F. Henniker, *Notes during a Visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis, Mount Sinai, and Jerusalem* (London 1823) 96-102; and T. Legh, *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt and the Country Beyond the Cataracts* (London 1816) 109-123. Legh’s story is the earliest detailed narrative of the site that I have been able to find. The contents of the caves seem to have been mostly destroyed by the 1880s. A guidebook from the turn of the twentieth century reports that “the caverns were thoroughly explored in 1885 by Dr. E. Lansing, and found to contain nothing but the charred remains of the crocodile mummies. Some years ago the mummies were accidentally set on fire by a party of tourists who never emerged again from the caves” (Mary Brodrick, *A Handbook for Travellers in Lower and Upper Egypt*, 10th ed. [London 1900] 710-711). The fullest treatment of the site can be found in T. Zimmer, *Les grottes des crocodiles de Maabdah (Samoun). Un cas extrême d’analyse archéologique* (San Antonio 1987). Thanks to Kevin W. Wilkinson for retrieving a copy of this publication for me.

⁸ See A. Sayce, “The Greek Papyri,” in W.M.F. Petrie (ed.), *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (London 1889) 24-37, at 24.

mistakenly said to have come from the pit. The well known memoir of Heinrich Brugsch makes this error.⁹ And we know it is an error because Harris himself published an account of his purchase of the Hyperides manuscript from a dealer in Thebes in the spring of 1847.¹⁰ There is no verifiable connection between the purchase of that manuscript and the copies of the *Iliad*. For about a century, no one seems to have doubted that the Homer manuscripts had been found at Maabdeh.¹¹ But this story was challenged in 1949 when Warren R. Dawson flatly denied this provenance. Yet, he also seems to have been working under the impression that the Hyperides papyrus and the *Iliad* papyri were all obtained together:

There is reason to believe that [the Harris Hyperides] and the two *Iliad* papyri found on the same occasion were bought by Harris from the Luxor dealer Castellari. The story told by Brugsch (*Mein Leben und mein Wandern*, pp. 121-2) that Harris himself found the Greek papyri on a mummy deposited in the crocodile-grotto at Manfalūt is obviously untrue.¹²

⁹ H. Brugsch, *Mein Leben und mein Wandern* (Berlin 1894) 121-122: "Seine reichen Mittel erlaubten es ihm, Jahr um Jahr regelmäßig eine Winterreise auf eigenem Nilschiffe nach Oberägypten zu unternehmen und Altertümer aller Art, vor allem wertvolle griechische und ägyptische Papyrus zu, nebenbei gesagt, überaus billigen Preisen zu erwerben. Das Glück war ihm dabei außerordentlich hold. So stieß er bei seinem Besuche einer Höhle voller Krokodilmumien, gegenüber der Stadt Monfalut in Oberägypten, auf einbalsamierte menschliche Körper, die mitten unter den Ungeheuern, man weiß nicht aus welchen Gründen, ihre letzte Ruhestätte gefunden hatten. Auf dem Leibe des einen entdeckte er zwei umfangreiche Papyrusrollen, die mit griechischen Buchstaben beschrieben waren. Sie enthielten die eine die Reden des griechischen Redners Hypereides, die andere den größten Teil der Homerischen Ilias. Beide Funde machten damals gerechtes Aufsehen in der wissenschaftlichen Welt und der Name Harris lebte in aller Munde."

¹⁰ A.C. Harris, "Description of a Greek Manuscript Found at Thebes," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom*, 2nd series, 3 (1850) 178-182. In a second-hand report, Harris's Hyperides is said to have come from a tomb in Thebes (*Proceedings of the Royal Society of Literature* 1 [1847] 262). This claim, however, is contradicted by Harris himself. In the preface to his facsimile edition of the Hyperides papyrus, Harris had elaborated on his efforts to learn the provenance of the fragments: "The following Fragments of a Papyrus were bought by me from a dealer in antiquities at Thebes of Upper Egypt, in the spring of 1847....In a visit to Thebes during the spring of the present year [1848], I used my best endeavours to ascertain the spot from which these MSS. were taken by the Arab excavators, but without success" (Harris, *Fragments of an Oration Against Demosthenes Respecting the Money of Harpalus* [London 1848]). Harris's Hyperides manuscript was already in London by December of 1849 at the latest, as Churchill Babington had reported that "the original MS. is now in London, being left in the care of Messrs. Ranking, Bankers, St. Helen's Court, City," adding that "the key of the box containing the MS. was at Alexandria" (Babington, *The Oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes, Respecting the Treasure of Harpalus* [London 1850] xvi).

¹¹ See, for example, K. Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* (Leipzig 1933) 100.

¹² Dawson, (n. 5) 162, n. 4. Morris Bierbrier also includes "copies of the *Iliad*" in a passing description of Harris's 1847 purchase at Thebes, but his source for the information

That Harris bought his fragments of Hyperides from Andrea Castellari is reported as early as 1881, but I have found no reliable evidence connecting either of Harris' *Iliad* manuscripts with this purchase.¹³ And in fact, Castellari seems to have died in 1847 or 1848, at least a year before Harris claimed to have bought the roll of the *Iliad*.¹⁴

In 1979, Alfons Wouters published a new edition of the text of Tryphon from the Harris Homer codex, and, making reference to the work of Dawson, expressed some doubt about the discovery at Maabdeh.¹⁵ Wouters noted that the report made in 1910 by Gustav Uhlig cited a letter of 1854 from Harris to Churchill Babington that appeared to be the ultimate source of subsequent stories of the discovery of the codex. Wouters stated that he was not himself able to consult this letter. The text of the letter, which was published in *The Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, is remarkable:

THE Rev. Churchill Babington has received from A. C. Harris, Esq., of Alexandria, in answer to his enquiries respecting a MS. of Trypho, the following communication, which he requests us to insert.

(Copy).

ALEXANDRIA, April, 1854.

The MS. of Tryphon was found upon a mummy in Middle Egypt, and I suppose that mummy to have been the body of Tryphon himself. The treatise is entitled Τρυφῶνος τεχνὴ γραμματικὴ. It is written in a papyrus book made from a number of sheets of papyrus, each 11 ¾ by 10 ½ inches, folded and placed one within the other so as to form a quire-book 11 ¾ in length and 5 ¼ in breadth. On one side of each leaf there was written of the *Iliad* of Homer from 48 to 57 verses; the whole must have originally comprised books A, B, Γ, Δ. The scribe having finished copying from Homer, turned the book upside down and commenced copying the treatise of Tryphon on the blank pages. Unfortunately I have only about half the book I have described, for my servant who found it, in detaching it from the mummy-cloth, which is strongly bitumened, tore out the middle leaves and left the rest in the cloth, and now the body cannot be found; the pit has been so much disturbed, and men and

is not clear ("The Doomed Prince and the Harris Collection," *British Museum Magazine* 24 [1996] 12-13). I am grateful to Patricia Usick for providing me with this reference.

¹³ E.M. Thompson, *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part I: Greek* (London 1881) 8: On the Hyperides roll: "Purchased in 1872, from Miss Selima Harris, daughter of Mr. A. C. Harris, of Alexandria. Mr. Harris obtained it, in 1847, at Thebes in Egypt, from a dealer in antiquities, probably an Italian named Castellari."

¹⁴ I have not been able to find a contemporary report of the death of Castellari. The entry for Castellari in the fourth edition of *Who Was Who in Egyptology* gives the date of his death as "c. 1848." Online genealogical records give the date of death as 1847, but no contemporary sources are cited in either case.

¹⁵ A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Brussels 1979) 61-62.

crocodiles, of which it is full, tumbled one upon the other in sad confusion, and the chambers containing them are about 400 feet from the mouth of the pit below ground. Some day I will apply to the Pacha for permission, and spend a fortnight in a deliberate search for what has been left behind. The mummy besides had in its hand a papyrus roll containing the 18th book of the *Iliad*, which I also have, very nearly complete.¹⁶

Thus, according to this early account from Harris, *both* of his Homer manuscripts were found with the very same human mummy in the midst of the crocodile mummies. The third-century codex of the early books of the *Iliad* was said to be “upon” the mummy, apparently affixed there with bitumen, and a roll containing book 18 of the *Iliad* from at least a century (and perhaps up to four centuries) earlier was “in its hand.”¹⁷ The story is in and of itself dubious. It becomes even more so when this report is compared with still earlier accounts.

The earliest mention of Harris’s *Iliad* roll that I have been able to find occurs in *The Athenaeum* of 8 September 1849:

The following extract of a letter from A. C. Harris, Esq. to S. Birch, Esq., dated Alexandria, 16th of August 1849 – and relating to the discovery of an ancient Papyrus, containing part of the *Iliad*, in Egypt – has been communicated to us –

“Since I had the pleasure of writing to you last, I have purchased a very interesting papyrus, which became known to me by a note from the Rev. E. Winder, our chaplain, of the tenor following. ‘The bearer of this note has a curious Greek MS. which he tells me he found in the hand of a mummy at Manfalout. It may perhaps be of more use to you than to me, and I therefore send him to you with it. I cannot get him to fix a price, and I do not know how to value it myself.’ I pass on to the description of the papyrus. Its whole length as it has reached me, is about three feet, and it is ten inches broad. The paper is not of the best sort, and it is so impregnated with the oil of the bitumen that the letters are scarcely darker than the ground upon which they are written... The man who sold me this papyrus declares that he has delivered all that he found, except a few broken pieces which he did not consider to be of any money value. If this be true, I fear that he has thrown away half the book.”¹⁸

A little over a year later, another letter from Harris described further acquisitions. It was partially reproduced in *The Athenaeum* of 7 December 1850:

¹⁶ “On an Egyptian MS. of the *Iliad*,” *The Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* 1 (1854) 264-265.

¹⁷ I have not had the opportunity to inspect either the Harris Homer roll or the codex for evidence of bitumen. These items are currently being digitized at the British Library and are not available for consultation.

¹⁸ *The Athenaeum Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* 1141 (1849) 913.

We have also been favoured by a correspondent with the following extract of a letter from A. C. Harris, Esq., of Alexandria, dated Rosetta, November 12, containing some curious information about the discovery of more of a Papyrus of Homer. – “I have had the great good fortune to find a portion of the missing part of this papyrus, consisting of 171 lines: – leaving 139 lines in verses to be sought for, and which I have a faint hope of recovering. I have obtained also another Papyrus in a book of primitive form which, if it were complete (and I regret it is not so), would, by the indication on it, contain other four books of the ‘Iliad’ (α , β , γ , δ), together with the grammar of Tryphon of Alexandria. Should I succeed in finding a further portion of these MSS., you shall have a particular account of them: otherwise, I will give a note of the parts now in my possession. – I believe that these documents have been taken from the body of Tryphon; and an arm which I preserve in my study as a relic, I consider to be the arm of the grammarian torn from the mummy in order to release the papyrus roll, and delivered to me with the fragment first purchased, and advised by you in the *Athenaeum*, 8th September 1849.’ – The grammarian Tryphon lived about the age of Augustus: – so that this papyrus MS. of the ‘Iliad’ would be of that age, or of the first century A.D. It is another proof of the sad fate of many valuable works which must have been attached to mummies, and which have been recklessly destroyed by those jackals of mummies, the Fellahs of Egypt.”¹⁹

At least two observations are in order. First and most unexpectedly, Harris was in possession of the *Iliad* codex already in 1850. Second, there is no mention of Harris himself having acquired either book at Maabdeh. Rather, both seem to have been purchases from a dealer. The claims that associate both the roll and the codex with a mummy from Maabdeh appear to be second-hand reports from the sellers, if not inventions of Harris’s own imagination. To my knowledge, no other books are said to have been found at the crocodile pit. And indeed, verifiable instances of books found with with corpses in Greek and Roman Egypt are not so frequent as is often imagined.²⁰

Finally, there is at least one other variation of the story of the discovery of the Harris Homer codex. After Anthony’s death in 1869, his daughter Selima attempted to sell his collection of Egyptian antiquities. Some information about the sale is available in the correspondence of Florence Nightingale, who had met Anthony and Selima during a trip to Egypt in

¹⁹ *The Athenaeum Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* 1206 (1850) 1281.

²⁰ See H. Cuvigny (trans. A. Bülow-Jacobsen), “The Finds of Papyri: The Archaeology of Papyrology,” in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 30-58, at 44-45. The same is true of the Christian period. See B. Nongbri, “Finding Early Christian Books at Nag Hammadi and Beyond,” *Bulletin for the Study of Religion* 45 (2016) 11-19.

the winter of 1849-1850.²¹ Nightingale acted as intermediary on behalf of Selima Harris to facilitate the sale of the collection assembled by her father. In a pair of letters from late 1871, Nightingale mentioned that Selima had brought the collection to Liverpool, insured it for a large sum, and had been attempting to sell it both to the Egyptian Museum in Berlin and to the British Museum (the full text of these letters is given in the Appendix to this article).²² The Homer codex is explicitly mentioned among the items for sale (“Tryphon’s grammar, with part of the Iliad written on the reverse”), and the story of its discovery comes with an interesting twist: According to Nightingale, it was Selima Harris herself who “groped about for a week in a tomb behind Manfaloot...to find ‘Tryphon’s grammar and the Iliad’ at the risk of her life.”

In light of these variations and inconsistencies, the stories of the discovery of these manuscripts in the Crocodile Pit at Maabdeh are highly suspect. But so also is Dawson’s contention that manuscripts were bought in Thebes in 1847. This claim appears to be based on the belief that the Homer papyri and the Hyperides were purchased together, and I have been unable to find any evidence of this (the only connection being the mistaken report of Brugsch that placed the Hyperides papyrus in the pit at Maabdeh). Pending the discovery of further relevant material, it may be best to conclude that the provenance of the “Harris Homers” cannot be traced back any further than the years 1849 and 1850 when the roll and the codex respectively became part of the collection of antiquities amassed by Anthony Charles Harris in Alexandria.

*Appendix: Two Letters of Florence Nightingale Concerning the
Collection of Egyptian Antiquities Belonging to Selima Harris*

I consulted copies of these letters held at the Wellcome Trust. The original letters are kept at Claydon House. I am grateful to the Claydon House Trust for permission to publish the letters here and to Sue Baxter for

²¹ On Nightingale’s trip to Egypt, see F. Nightingale, *Letters from Egypt: A Journey on the Nile*, selected and edited by A. Sattin (London 1987).

²² These are letters from Nightingale to Emily Verney (9 November 1871) and from Nightingale to Harry Verney (16 November 1871). The letters are part of the archives of the Verney and Nightingale families at Claydon House (bundle N151). Copies of these letters are also kept at the Wellcome Trust (MS 9005/103 and MS 9005/106). The online repository of Nightingale’s letters at <http://www.uoguelph.ca/~cwfn/archival/index.htm> seems not to contain transcripts of these two pieces. I became aware of their existence through a note in L. McDonald (ed.), *Florence Nightingale on Women, Medicine, Midwifery and Prostitution* (Collected Works of Florence Nightingale 8; Waterloo 2005) 775.

checking readings against the originals. The various signs in the letters (^ [{) reproduce similar signs in Nightingale's hand.

The letters are addressed to members of the Verney family. Sir Harry Verney (1801-1894) was a British military officer and member of the House of Commons. He was the husband of Florence Nightingale's sister, Frances Parthenope (Nightingale) Verney (1819-1890, called "Parthe" in the letters). Emily Verney (1843-1872) was the daughter of Harry Verney and a collaborator with Florence Nightingale. The letters refer to Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-1884), who in 1871 was the director of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, and Samuel Birch (1813-1885), who was the Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum. Also mentioned is Caroline Werckner, who had worked as a nurse for French prisoners passing through Breslau during the Franco-Prussian War.

1. *Letter of Florence Nightingale to Emily Verney, 9 November 1871*
(Claydon House Trust N 151)

35 South Street,
Park Lane,
W.

Nov 9 / 71

Dearest Emily

Sir Harry was so good as to propose [I write to you, because I think it less trouble to him, coming through you] to write to Lepsius at Berlin, telling him that the Museum of Egyptian antiquities of the late Mr. Harris of Alexandria in Egypt was for sale & had been offered to the British Museum by his daughter who has brought them to England, & also to write to Dr. S. Birch of the British Museum (to whom they have been offered) but who is haggling about price telling him that he [^]Sir H. had written to Lepsius. [This was Sir. H.'s own kind proposal.]

I wrote to the daughter

Miss Selima Harris now at 18 Cannon Place
Brighton {for health

by his desire proposing these two ^{things}. She accepts both proposals with fervent thanks—& desires me to give her gratitude to Sir Harry {She thinks it will determine Birch to purchase.

Sir H. desired me to ask her for a Description. She sends me the enclosed, the only copy she has—& begs that it may be returned to her [it is not necessary to send it to Dr. Birch, since not only has he a copy of it, but is fresh from seeing both Selima & the Collection.]

Lepsius would need to see ~~the~~ a description. But, should you send him this copy, Miss Harris would never see it again. It occurred to me to tell you that

1. the most valuable Article of the Collection, supposed to be the most perfect Papyrus extant of any size, (valued by Ms. Harris at £10 000) is “Papyrus of the Annals of Rameses II”. (1st Page. [Selima showed me this treasure] “No. 502, 503 of MSS. Catalogue”. [I have marked it in red.]

2. And, next, (2nd page) “Tryphon’s grammar, with part of the Iliad written on the reverse (494, 495)” [She showed me this too]

[Parthe will tell you about the little black girl, Selima Harris, copying, photographing inscriptions for her father at Philae, & shooting jackals with him in the moonlight on the Pyramids. She groped about for a week in a tomb behind Manfaloot for him to find “Tryphon’s grammar & the Iliad” at the risk of her life.]

She offers the whole collection for £10,000.

Dearest Emily, I confide this matter to your wisdom. Please return the enclosed to me.

Ever your affect. old Aunt

F. Nightingale

2. Letter of Florence Nightingale to Harry Verney, 16 November 1871
(Claydon House Trust N151)

Miss Harris & the British Museum

35 South Street,
Park Lane,
W.

Nov 16 / 71

My dear Sir Harry

This letter from Dr. Birch to Miss Harris has been, I have no doubt, prompted by your kind interference.

Miss Harris says very wisely that, without knowing what has been the result of the overture to Lepsius, she does not know what to answer.

What would you advise? [I should explain that she offered the whole collection to Dr. Birch for £10,000. (& that Mr. Harris, whose word was law on Egyptian antiquities & always taken as such, valued the one Papyrus at £10000 – that of Ramases II.)

I should also explain that the whole collection is now at Liverpool, where she insured it for a very large sum. She went down to Lpool to fetch it up to show Dr. Birch & also (very kindly) to show me. She had then to take it back, according to the terms of the insurance.

She is in very bad health & has been since her father's death, whom she nursed night & day for 11 years. & since she was blown up by the Gun-cotton explosion at Alexandria²³—(for which she had no pecuniary redress.) She begged me to express her gratitude to you for your very kind interference on her behalf—

Ever yours

F.N.

Madame Werckner (of Breslau)

Emily told me that you wished for her address. It is

Madame Werckner

John Haywood's Esq

Lymington

Hampshire

[She is the Lady whom you saw here on Monday week]

Please do let me know whenever you hear from Emily. Did she go by Paris to Marseilles?

I hope you are better & Parthe too.

F.N.

²³ Harris's manuscripts are sometimes said to have been damaged in an explosion near his home at Alexandria. After surveying the condition of several of Harris's manuscripts, Dawson (n. 5, 164-166) expressed doubt that their damage was consistent with what might be expected from a fiery explosion. He also noted the absence of reports of any explosion near Harris's house prior to 1878 and implied that the whole story may have been invented. This letter from Nightingale is the earliest reference to this explosion that I have seen, but I have found other scattered references to an explosion in a gun cotton facility in Alexandria in reasonably reputable news outlets (e.g. "A Speech from the Throne Spoken Three Thousand Years Ago," *The Standard*, 3 April 1874). Yet, even if such an explosion did occur, Dawson's observations about the type of damage the manuscripts have suffered suggest that the explosion was not the culprit.

GRENFELL AND HUNT IN THE FAYYŪM:
TWO LETTERS TO J. GILBART SMYLY
(IE TCD MS 4323, NOS. 42 AND 68)¹

Todd M. Hickey *University of California, Berkeley*

Abstract. — An annotated edition of two letters from B.P. Grenfell to J.G. Smyly concerning the excavations that Grenfell undertook with his partner A.S. Hunt in the Fayyūm in 1900/1901 and 1902. These documents furnish new information and insights about this fieldwork – most interestingly, its competitive and nationalistic nature – as well as other matters; they also possess an immediacy and candor that published accounts lack.

The mere fact that a man is famous and dead does not entitle us to read, still less to publish, his private correspondence. We have to ask ourselves two questions – firstly, “Would he mind?” and, secondly, “Are the contents of such historical importance as to justify publication even if he would?”

W.H. Auden²

The excavations of Bernard P. Grenfell (1869-1926) and Arthur S. Hunt (1871-1934) at al-Bahnasā, al-Ḥībah, and in the Fayyūm are largely known through the reports that they published on an almost annual basis in the Egypt Exploration Fund’s *Archaeological Report*.³ Inasmuch as these

¹ The letters presented here appear courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin, The University of Dublin, which holds their copyright. They are an excerpt from a generously annotated edition of the extant correspondence between Smyly and Grenfell and Hunt that I began preparing in 2007. I thank my eventual collaborator on this project, Brian McGing, for allowing me to publish this preview; and my Berkeley colleague Robert Hirst, Director of the Mark Twain Project and editor *par excellence*, for his guidance and assistance in preparing these documents. (Any deviations from Bob’s best practice should be laid at my doorstep.) I am also grateful to J.G. Keenan for his helpful comments on drafts of this manuscript.

² “An Improbable Life,” in *Forewords and Afterwords* (New York, NY 1973) 302.

³ D.G. Hogarth and B.P. Grenfell, “Cities of the Faiyūm: Karanis and Bacchias,” *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* (1895-1896) 14-19; B.P. Grenfell, “Oxyrhynchus and Its Papyri,” *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* (1896-1897) 1-12; B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, “Excavations for Papyri in the Fayūm; the Position of Lake Moeris,” *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* (1898-1899) 8-15; Grenfell and Hunt, “Excavations in the Fayūm,” *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* (1900-1901) 4-7 [hereafter “Excavations,” 1900-1901]; Grenfell and Hunt, “Excavations

texts were written retrospectively and were intended, moreover, for an audience that included established and potential benefactors, they are well considered and measured presentations of the events and on occasion may even verge into useful fictions.⁴ This is not to suggest that they completely lack value, but there should be no illusions about their limitations as historical records.⁵ Grenfell and Hunt also prepared accounts of their fieldwork expressly for papyrological colleagues.⁶ These publications may be less compromised – their collation with their EEF analogues is beyond the scope of the present article – but they were still written from a distance and in any case should not be regarded as dispassionate and motiveless presentations of “the facts.” Finally, there are the narratives of the excavations that appeared in the popular press, which more obviously require attentive reading, regardless of authorship.⁷

The testimony furnished by published reports may be supplemented by evidence from other sources. Field notebooks for some of Grenfell and Hunt’s seasons, for example, are preserved, and these contain useful

in the Fayûm and at El Hibeh,” *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* (1901-1902) 2-5 [hereafter “Excavations,” 1901-1902]; Grenfell and Hunt, “Excavations at Hibeh, Cynopolis and Oxyrhynchus,” *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* (1902-1903) 1-9; Grenfell and Hunt, “Excavations at Oxyrhynchus,” *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* (1903-1904) 14-17; Grenfell and Hunt, “Excavations at Oxyrhynchus,” *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* (1904-1905) 14-17; Grenfell and Hunt, “Excavations at Oxyrhynchus,” *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* (1905-1906) 8-16; Grenfell and Hunt, “Excavations at Oxyrhynchus,” *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* (1906-1907) 8-11. The reports concerning Oxyrhynchus are conveniently reprinted, with light annotation, in A.K. Bowman et al. (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (London 2007) 345-368.

⁴ Grenfell and Hunt’s description of the discovery of the crocodile papyri at Tebtunis (*P.Tebt.* 1, p. vi) may be such a fiction; it does not appear in any prior accounts of the excavation, including those intended for popular audiences (to whom it might be expected to appeal most). Its absence from E.J. Goodspeed’s correspondence (see n. 10) is also striking.

⁵ Generally speaking, it would behoove papyrologists to read “discovery narratives” more critically; for recent engagement of this sort with the accounts of the Nag Hammadi find, see N.D. Lewis and J.A. Blount, “Rethinking the Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices,” *JBL* 133 (2014) 399-419 (a reference that I owe to one of this journal’s referees).

⁶ See, e.g., B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, “A Large Find of Ptolemaic Papyri,” *APF* 1 (1901) 376-378 (concerning their 1899/1900 season at Tebtunis; there is no corresponding EEF report because the excavations were funded by Phoebe Apperson Hearst on behalf of the University of California); “Englische Ausgrabungen im Faijûm 1900/01,” *APF* 1 (1901) 560-562; and “Englische Ausgrabungen im Faijûm und Hibeh 1902,” *APF* 2 (1903) 181-183 (hereafter “Ausgrabungen 1902”).

⁷ Cf. D. Montserrat, “News Reports: The Excavations and Their Journalistic Coverage,” in Bowman et al. (n. 3) 28-39.

data; their proper publication is thus eagerly anticipated.⁸ There is also considerable visual evidence; Hunt was an able and active photographer.⁹ For documentation with any sort of narrative structure, however, and for thoughts, motivations, and emotions, the best hope seems to lie with correspondence – first and foremost, the letters that Grenfell wrote concerning the duo's excavations.¹⁰ When sent from the field, these possess an immediacy that the published reports lack, and under any circumstances they frequently place emphasis differently and provide information that is novel.¹¹

⁸ A notebook of Hunt's concerning the 1899/1900 season at Tebtunis (as well as pottery from Theadelphia and Euhemeria excavated in 1898/1899) is held by the Griffith Institute, which has catalogued it as "Crum notebook 67." M. Bierbrier, "Fayum Cemeteries and Their Portraits," in *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt* (London 1997) 17-18, mentions a notebook concerning the 1903 excavations at al-Ḥibah, no doubt the same notebook referenced in connection with the second (1903) season at Oxyrhynchus here: <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/VExhibition/introduction/notebook.html> (accessed 16 November 2016). Nick Gonis kindly alerts me to an additional Oxyrhynchus notebook that illuminates Grenfell and Hunt's work in the various rubbish mounds at the site; the publication of this is in progress. See also now the Artefacts of Excavation project, <http://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk> (accessed 23 March 2017), which aims to provide access to archival documentation for British fieldwork in Egypt from 1880 to 1980, including Grenfell and Hunt's seasons. Of the items currently posted, EES DIST.13.01, a four-page object list (in Hunt's hand) from the 1900/1901 excavations, is pertinent to the present article.

⁹ About a dozen of Hunt's photographs (selected from the "over 250" that survive) are printed in D. Rathbone, "Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus and in the Fayum," in *The Egypt Exploration Society – The Early Years* (London 2007) 199-229. As many as four (and certainly three) of these images are pertinent to the letters edited below (see pp. 208-213); I am aware of other relevant items that remain unpublished.

¹⁰ The more "outgoing" Grenfell seems to have been the partnership's principal letter writer at least until his breakdown in December 1906; as a result, Hunt's letters are fewer during the period of their fieldwork, and they tend to be shorter in length and more guarded. E.G. Turner, "The Graeco-Roman Branch," in T.G.H. James, *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982* (London 1983) 161-178 (reprinted in Bowman et al. [n. 3] 17-27), an "authorized account" that quotes from an unpublished lecture of Grenfell's as well as some of his letters, describes Hunt's correspondence as "laconic, fussy about detail, almost prim" (p. 171 = 23). Among the letters to Grenfell and Hunt now preserved in the Papyrology Rooms of the Sackler Library there is certainly information pertaining to their excavations; for an overview of this archive, see L. Lehnus, "Bernard Pyne Grenfell e Arthur Surridge Hunt (1869-1926) • (1871-1934)," in *Hermae: Scholars and Scholarship in Papyrology* 1 (Pisa 2007) 121-132. The papers of E. J. Goodspeed (Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library) include rich correspondence concerning the Tebtunis excavation, which Goodspeed visited 17-19 February 1900; these documents are the basis for a forthcoming book by J.G. Keenan and myself.

¹¹ The financial concerns and data that are prominent in Grenfell's 1897 letters from Oxyrhynchus come to mind as an example; see T.M. Hickey and J.G. Keenan, "At the Creation: Seven Letters from Grenfell, 1897," *AnalPap* 28 (2016) 351-382 (and cf. already Montserrat [n. 7] 33).

While it is true that letters can share some of the limitations of the published reports,¹² if the recipient is a mentor or friend, they can be candid and revealing.¹³ Grenfell's communications to J.G. Smyly (1867-1948), who collaborated with him and Hunt on the publication of the Ptolemaic papyri that they had recovered from Tebtunis (1899/1900), certainly fall into this category.¹⁴ They are open and unvarnished, typically good-humored and occasionally facetious, characteristic of men who were not only comrades in the young discipline of papyrology, but confidants and friends.¹⁵

The letters presented below were selected for the information and insights that they afford concerning two of Grenfell and Hunt's lesser known campaigns, those in the Fayyūm in 1900/1901 and 1902 (a season that would conclude in the Nile Valley, in Middle Egypt at al-Ḥībah). New details provided by the correspondence, as well as departures from existing accounts, are signaled in the annotations. The letters are most interesting for their elucidation of the competitive and nationalistic nature of Grenfell and Hunt's work, early tensions that have since been elided by the pervasive and persistent narrative of the *amicitia papyrologorum*.

The transcriptions of the letters employ the following critical signs:

- abe text that has been cancelled
- ^abc^ text that has been inserted (I do not reproduce Grenfell's practice, which is inconsistent: Sometimes he employs a single caret, other times he does not mark his insertions at all.)
- abc text that has been underlined
- [abc] other editorial interventions; page transitions in the letters are indicated by numerals within square brackets ([2], e.g.)
- v. a vacant space in the text (each v indicates the width of a letter)

¹² Cf. D. Montserrat, "'No Papyrus and No Portraits': Hogarth, Grenfell and the First Season in the Fayum, 1895-6," *BASP* 33 (1996) 135: "Grenfell's report letters to officials of the Egypt Exploration Fund are gnomic and uninformative in comparison with Hogarth's." This seems, however, an overstatement.

¹³ Cf. Grenfell's 14 February 1897 letter to Petrie edited in Hickey and Keenan (n. 11), no. IV.

¹⁴ For Smyly, see B.C. McGing, "SMYLY, Josiah Gilbert (1867-1948)," in *The Dictionary of British Classicists* 3 (Bristol 2004) 907, and N. Pellé, "Josiah Gilbert Smyly (1867-1948)," in *Hermae: Scholars and Scholarship in Papyrology* 4 (Pisa 2015) 19-23. Note also the reminiscence in D. Grene, *On Farming & Classics: A Memoir* (Chicago 2007) 67-69. His obituary: *Irish Press*, 29 December 1948, p. 9 (the same text appears in other Irish newspapers); notice concerning funeral: *Irish Independent*, 31 December 1948, p. 6.

¹⁵ Grenfell would name Smyly as a beneficiary in the will that he drafted in 1917; cf. IE TCD MS 4323, no. 106 (letter from Hunt to Smyly, 26 May 1926). According to a copy of Grenfell's executed will kindly shown to me by Nick Gonis, Smyly's bequest was "all my Egyptian papyri found in Egypt in 1894 and 1895."

More complicated issues (e.g., corrections of some kind) are addressed in the notes following the texts (using *alphabetic* note markers; numeric note markers are reserved for footnotes with annotations concerning the content of the letters).

1. *Letter no. 68*

	Kafr Meir
	Edwa ¹⁶
address P.O. Cairo	March 18. 1901

My dear Smyly,

You will probably have been expecting for some time to hear from me, but I have waited to write until there was something good to report and it has taken till now. We are just entering on the 14th week of our excavations,¹⁷ the greater part of the time having been devoted to Ptolemaic cemeteries, but until the last week with extraordinarily bad luck. Not that we have failed to find papyrus mummies; they have turned up by the hundred. At Dimeh there were ~~two~~ splendid cemeteries of them, one 3d cent B.C., the other second, sometimes 10 or 15 in a tomb, but practically all had completely decayed— as seems inevitable save when the tombs are very shallow, the mummification very good and

¹⁶ In correspondence from the field, Grenfell indicates the location from which his letter has been posted. His correspondence from the Oxyrhynchus excavation is thus labelled “Beni-Mazar” (the location of the closest postal facilities) and not “Behnesa.” Here Grenfell gives two locations, possibly because he was uncertain whether the first had postal service. “Kafr Meir” presumably corresponds to Kafr ‘Amīra, ca. 8 km southwest from Grenfell and Hunt’s campsite at ar-Rūbīyāt (so Google Maps; consulted 11 November 2016). “Edwa” is al-‘Idwa, ca. 14.5 km southwest of Rūbīyāt; though its post office seems to have been constructed only in 1905 (cf. W. Garstin, *Report upon the Administration of the Public Works Department in Egypt for 1905* [Cairo 1906] 108), its presence on a rail line suggests access of some sort to mail service. Garstin writes of the post office as “available for other villages.”

¹⁷ “Excavations,” 1900-1901 (n. 3) 4, gives the start of the season as 17 December 1900, corroborating Grenfell’s calculation here.

the desert of a particular kind.¹⁸ Down to a week ago the cemeteries of 3 different sites (Kom Ushim, Dimeh and Rubayyat) had proved almost a blank. The last week [2] however we have been digging a fourth Ptolemaic cemetery which has got papyrus mummies, and though here too much has decayed we have raised about 20 out of it in good or very fair condition.¹⁹ So at last there is something solid, and, as we have still two more cemeteries near here (Rubayyat where we are camped) to dig, we are, I hope, far from the end yet.²⁰ But it will take a good deal to compensate us for the really herculean efforts we have made. It has been an exhausting season. While on the north side of the Birket el Ḳurûn for two months we had to have everything, even fresh water, brought v. over by boat from the south side (1½ hours) v. and owing to gales we were occasionally left v. in the lurch, though we never actually had a

¹⁸ Cf. "Excavations," 1900-1901 (n. 3) 4-5, which mentions four cemeteries (three for humans, one for crocodiles). In his letter to Smyly, Grenfell is presumably referring to the "numerous well-tombs of the early Ptolemaic period" (p. 4) and the cemetery "[n]ear the town on the north-west ... of a later period (second or first century B.C.)" (p. 5). In the EEF report, it is only in connection with the first of these *nekropoleis* that mummies are counted; the tombs there had "one or more chambers, each containing sometimes one or two, often five to ten." For all four cemeteries, see further M. Capasso and P. Davoli, eds., *Soknopaiou Nesos Project I (2003-2009)* (Pisa 2012) 16 (noting also p. 11). Smyly's Hellenistic interests may account for Grenfell's silence about the other work that was undertaken at or near the site; see "Excavations," 1900-1901 (n. 3) 5-6.

¹⁹ Cf. "Excavations," 1900-1901 (n. 3) 6-7, which does not state the number of mummies (only that they were "numerous") and reads more positively. The EEF report indicates that the cemetery in question is near "Manashinshâneh" ("perhaps [ancient] Tanis," p. 6); for this location and further discussion, see P. Davoli, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana* (Naples 1998) 165, and K. Muhlestein and B. Jensen, "The Mummy Portraits of Fag el-Gamous," *Studia Antiqua* 12 (2013) 54-56. Note also J.G. Keenan, "Deserted Villages: From the Ancient to the Medieval Fayyûm," *BASP* 40 (2003) 138 (on Old Shâna and New Shâna). Hunt's packing list (n. 8) curiously makes no mention of "Manashinshâneh"; it may be that the objects recovered there are subsumed in the "Rubayyât" listing. "Fourth": Grenfell is counting sites with Ptolemaic *nekropoleis*, not individual cemeteries.

²⁰ "Excavations," 1900-1901 (n. 3) 7, indicates that Grenfell and Hunt worked only one additional cemetery (the Roman one at ar-Rübîyât).

v. water famine.²¹ The scene of the work varied^a
 v. from 2 to 7 miles [sic] distance from the camp
 v. which had to be pitched on the edge of the
 v. lake in a swamp.²² Hunt got a touch of
 malaria in January,^b but a week in Cairo
 set him all right again.²³ The last month since
 we have been at Rubayyat has been much
 [3]
 more comfortable; we are on the edge of the
 cultivation and civilisation instead of 16
 or miles or more from it by land.²⁴ The cemetery
 we are digging at present is however 4 miles
 off,²⁵ which makes a fatiguing day of it. I start
 off at 6.30 a.m. and don't return till 6.30. p.m.
 In order to get on fast, I have 130 workmen now
 partly Arabs, partly fellahîn, who tend to
 quarrel a good bit.²⁶ One of the periodical fights occurred
 the other day, and I descended into the arena to part
 them,^c with the result that my shoulder is still stiff
 from the vigour with which I belaboured the
 heads of both parties!²⁷
 Despite the heat which will soon be rather

²¹ For these logistical difficulties, cf. A.E.R. Boak (ed.), *Soknopaiou Nesos: The University of Michigan Excavations at Dimê in 1931-32* (Ann Arbor 1935) vii-viii.

²² "7 miles": An oblique reference, presumably, to Grenfell and Hunt's work at "Yâkûta" (Medînet Qûta), concerning which see "Excavations," 1900-1901 (n. 3) 6. For the site, (inaccurately) described by Grenfell and Hunt as "six miles west from the lake," see Davoli (n. 19) 325-327.

²³ Hunt's illness unsurprisingly goes unmentioned in "Excavations," 1900-1901 (n. 3). Less than a year earlier he had "caught the influenza" in Cairo (24 April 1900 letter from B.P. Grenfell to E.J. Goodspeed, Edgar J. Goodspeed papers, box 4, folder 9, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago).

²⁴ "16 miles": Cf. "Excavations," 1900-1901 (n. 3) 4. Presumably Grenfell is referring to a land journey around the east end of the Birket Qārûn.

²⁵ "Excavations," 1900-1901 (n. 3) 6, gives the distance as "[a]bout five miles."

²⁶ By way of comparison, the maximum number of workmen at Bahnasâ during Grenfell and Hunt's first season there was 110; cf. Grenfell, "Oxyrhynchus and its papyri" (n. 3) 7. Grenfell no doubt means "Bedouin" when he speaks of "Arabs"; for the employment of Bedouin and *fallâhîn* on excavations, cf. S. Quirke, *Hidden Hands: Egyptian Workforces in Petrie Excavation Archives, 1880-1924* (London 2010) 91-92.

²⁷ Grenfell's use of physical violence would seem to stand in contrast to his mentor Petrie's practice; see M.S. Drower, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*, 2nd ed. (Madison 1995) 180-181. Drower (p. 430) credits Petrie with revolutionizing "the attitude of an excavator towards his workmen, by insisting on supervising them personally, and

excessive, we expect to go on digging till
 April 20,²⁸ so it will be May by the time
 I am back probably.²⁹ I hope the Press sent
 you Δ or Mahaffy Δ proofs of the Amherst vol. (the Ptolemaic
 portion).³⁰ Could you kindly return them to
 Oxford by the end of April.^d We have to
 finish the vol. ω as soon as we get back, so
 vv. it will be June before we can start
 [4]
 vv. the crocodiles.³¹ Has anything good turned up
 in the papyri you have?³²
 The bad luck which has attended us this year
 will partly be made up by other discoveries.
 Jouguet has been digging at Medinet Madi
 and though he didnt find anything there, the
 natives got hold of a good Δ Ptolemaic Δ cemetery about
 6 miles away, so he was able to cut in
 and find some papyrus mummies.³³ He came

substituting for the *kurbash* [hippopotamus-hide whip] a sympathetic and personal relationship and a system of rewards for care and vigilance.”

²⁸ Beyond bringing warmer temperatures, April is also the usual month of the *khamṣīn*. Grenfell refers to this hot, dusty wind by its Italian name (*sirocco*) in letter 2 (p. 5).

²⁹ Grenfell was back in Oxford on 4 May 1901 (IE TCD MS 4323, no. 46).

³⁰ A reference to *P.Amh.* 2, the preface of which acknowledges Smyly, not Mahaffy, for “many valuable suggestions on the Ptolemaic texts” (p. v). For John Pentland Mahaffy (1839–1919), see W.B. Stanford and R.B. McDowell, *Mahaffy: A Biography of an Anglo-Irishman* (London 1971). “The Press”: Oxford University Press.

³¹ “The crocodiles”: A reference to the Ptolemaic papyri recovered from the Tebtunis crocodile mummies; these texts would be published in *P.Tebt.* 1 (1902), a volume for which Smyly would receive equal editorial credit alongside Grenfell and Hunt. *P.Amh.* 2, which bears a 1901 date on its title page, appeared late in that year; in the 17 January 1902 edition of the (London) *Times* it is listed among the “New Books and New Editions” (p. 10).

³² A reference to crocodile papyri from the Tebtunis excavation that had been sent to Smyly. Smyly may have replied to Grenfell’s query, for IE TCD MS 4323, no. 46, 5 May 1901, expresses regret that Smyly’s “crocodiles” are not “more interesting.”

³³ For Jouguet, see, e.g., G. Husson, “Pierre Jouguet (1869–1949),” in *Hermae: Scholars and Scholarship in Papyrology* 1 (Pisa 2007) 143–152, and A. Merlin, “Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Pierre Jouguet, membre de l’Académie,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 94 (1950) 392–406. The cemetery “about six miles away” – Google Maps (consulted 16 November 2016) indicates that the distance is actually about 6 km – was Kōm Medīnet Gu’rān. Jouguet, “Fouilles du Fayoum: Rapport sur les fouilles de Médinet-Mâ’di et Médinet-Ghōran,” *BCH* 25 (1901) 384–385, describes the impetus for his “change of venue” as follows: “Le nazir d’une esbeh voisine m’avait apporté les débris d’un sarcophage et un fragment de cartonnage en papyrus, où par une déchirure on lisait quelques mots d’un document grec. Il était clair qu’ils provenaient d’un

to pay us a visit in Dec. and we became great friends.³⁴ But nature did not design^e a Frenchman of the Midi for either a scholar or an excavator[.]³⁵ At Illahun also last autumn one of the Museum inspectors (a native) dug up a few papyrus mummies, mostly in rather bad condition and late (I noticed one dated in the 50th year of Euerg. II).³⁶ Jouguet had when we were in Cairo got hold of these, but now that he has found some of his own, he may be less keen, and I will try and arrange with the Museum people that they should be sent over for v. Mahaffy and you.³⁷ But of course I can promise vv. nothing[.] He^f _Λ(M.)_Λ will have to restrain his vv. impatience again about our finds of this year [5]^g for they wont get published till 1903 – if then.³⁸

cimetière de la région. Il fallait donc avant tout découvrir ce cimetière et l'arracher aux pillards. Des bédouins qui travaillaient à la fouille me conduisirent presque aussitôt à Médinet-Ghōran."

³⁴ Cf. Jouguet (n. 33) 380-381, n. 1 (end), "[J]e n'oublierai jamais les journées heureuses passées chez eux [Grenfell and Hunt] à Kôm-Oushim [where Grenfell and Hunt started their season; cf. p. 1 of the letter], ni les conversations, par lesquelles ils m'initiaient amicalement à leurs recherches." It seems odd that Husson (n. 33) makes no mention of the relationship.

³⁵ Jouguet was born in Bessèges in the Gard *département*; see, e.g., Merlin (n. 33) 393. Its other implications aside, Grenfell's judgment here would seem to be rash: Jouguet would later occupy a "place éminente au sein des papyrologues fondateurs" and be honored in the same breath as Hunt (Husson [n. 33] 148).

³⁶ The 50th year of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II was 121/120 BC.

³⁷ Jouguet would retain control of these papyri, which are currently divided between Paris and Cairo; see the website of the Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne, which notes, "[L]e fonds Jouguet contient aussi des documents provenant d'El-Lahoun (Ptolémaïs Hormou) confiés pour étude par G. Maspero, dont une partie fut rendue, après étude, à l'Égypte avec quelques documents provenant de Ghoran et Magdôla," <http://www.papyrologie.paris-sorbonne.fr/menu1/jouguet.htm> (accessed 17 November 2016). See also *P.Lille* 1, p. 2. Smyly, however, would end up being involved in the publication of some of them: The introduction to *P.Lille* 1 states, "[N]ous sommes tout particulièrement obligés à M. J. Gilbert Smyly, professeur à l'Université de Dublin; pendant un séjour à Lille, il a revu une grande partie des originaux et nous a fait profiter de son expérience, de sa science et de sa méthode avec une libéralité dont je lui garde un affectueuse gratitude" (p. 5). None of the published texts date to the 50th year of Euergetes II (in this regard note also W. Clarysse and H. Hauben, "Ten Ptolemaic Granary Receipts from Pyrrheia," *ZPE* 89 [1991] 47-68).

³⁸ Cf. "Excavations," 1900-1901 (n. 3) 7, "The first instalment of our finds, which are now all at Oxford pending a subsequent division with the Gizeh Museum, will probably form the annual volume of the Graeco-Roman Branch for 1902-3." Grenfell's "1903" is echoed in a letter to Smyly of 5 May 1901 (IE TCD MS 4323, no. 46). In the event, he

Returning to England so late this year, we
 shall be more pressed for time than ever
 this summer, and there is I fear^h little chance of
 our visit to Dublin coming off. But you
 will I hope come to Oxford.³⁹ It is a great pity
 you cant visit us out here. To get up at 5.30
 and be out 12 hours every day would do you
 a lot of good.

Love to Mahaffy

Yours

B. P. Grenfell.

^a “Varied” overwrites some indeterminate text. J.G. Keenan suggests to me that Grenfell perhaps wrote “ran a” before changing his mind; “rang” (i.e., the beginning of “ranged”) cannot be read.

^b Grenfell seems to have overwritten the “ar” of “January” with a large “a”.

^c The word “them” is a marginal insertion.

^d This sentence is punctuated with a period, not a question mark.

^e The “des” of “design” is overwritten.

^f Between “nothing” and “He” there appears to be a false start (it is not the expected period).

^g “68” is written in pencil at the top of this page.

^h “I” is quite close to the “f” of “fear”; “f” overwrites it in fact (cf. “I foresee” on p. 4 of the next letter).

2. Letter no. 42ⁱ

address Cairo.

Illahûn

Fayoum

March. 12. 1902

My dear Smyly,

I hope you have been
 receiving instalments of Tebtunis I regularly, and
 that some ideas have occurred to you about 61.⁴⁰ We

and Hunt would not publish any of the papyri from their 1900/1901 excavations. According to MS 4323, no. 46, the number of good or fair “papyrus mummies” recovered during the season was about 30, “besides pieces of many others.”

³⁹ IE TCD MS 4323, no. 46, sent by Grenfell from Oxford and dated 5 May 1901, reiterates the impossibility of a Dublin visit, at least before autumn. It does, however, indicate that Smyly was planning to come to Oxford that July (he would in fact appear in August; cf., e.g., IE TCD MS 4323, no. 71).

⁴⁰ “Instalments”: sc. “of proofs.” Henry Frowde would announce the publication of the first volume of the *Tebtunis Papyri* (“Tebtunis I”) on 2 August 1902 (cf. *St James’s*

have long driven away the cobwebs of *κεχωρισμένη*
πρόσοδος κ.τ.λ. in the interest of new finds.⁴¹
 Our career has been more than usually chequered.⁴²
 The first cemetery proved a frost,⁴³ nothing but
 late Roman or pre-4th dynasty Egyptian, neither
 at all in our line:⁴⁴ so we returned to the place
 we found the papyrus mummies in tolerable
 preservation last year and set to work on the Roman
 tombs.⁴⁵ These produced several rather fine portrait
 mummies & some nice glass etc,⁴⁶ but what was more
 to the point there were some early Ptolemaic tombs mixed
 up with the Roman, so we got a few more papyrus
 mummies, which will form a useful supplement to those

Gazette of that date, p. 6). The papyrus edited as *P.Tebt.* 1.61, "Report on the Crops at Kerkeosiris," would be described by the editors (p. 181) as an "important document, which next to the Revenue Papyrus [*P.Rev.*] is the largest Ptolemaic text that has been discovered."

⁴¹ ἡ κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος, "the separated revenue," would feature in *P.Tebt.* 1's lengthy Appendix 1, "The Land of Kerkeosiris and Its Holders," pp. 569-570. See further A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris: The Doings and Dealings of a Village Scribe in the Late Ptolemaic Period (120-110 B.C.)* (Leiden 1998) 111-112.

⁴² "Chequered": "Diversified in character; full of constant alternation (esp. for the worse). Esp. in phr. *chequered career*" (*OED*, s.v.).

⁴³ "Frost": "*colloq.* (orig. *Brit.*). An unsuccessful or disappointing thing or person; a failure, a flop" (*OED*, s.v.).

⁴⁴ "Excavations," 1901-1902 (n. 3) 2-3, which puts a marginally more positive "spin" on the finds, speaks of multiple cemeteries, a mixed (pharaonic and late Roman) one "on the edge of the desert about half-way between Manashinshāneh...and Sêla railway station, and somewhat to the south of the 'pyramid' of Sêla, an Old Empire mastaba perched high on a spur of the hills which form the eastern boundary of the province [i.e., the Fayyūm]," and others "in the neighbourhood of Sêla station...[of late Roman and Byzantine] date and equally unproductive." "Ausgrabungen 1902" (n. 6) 181, furnishes additional locative information: "We began our excavations...by looking along the old Bahr Wardân (now being restored) between the Sêla railway station and Rubayyât," adding that the cemeteries near the station were "north-east of Sêla." See further Davoli (n. 19) 165-166 (who seems not to be aware of "Ausgrabungen 1902").

⁴⁵ "We returned to the place ...": "Excavations," 1901-1902 (n. 3) 3, identifies this as "Manashinshāneh"; cf. pp. 1-2 of letter 1 above (and n. 19). It also describes the tombs as "Roman and Byzantine."

⁴⁶ For the mummy portraits, cf. Bierbrier (n. 8) 17. "Etc": "Excavations," 1901-1902 (n. 3) 3, specifies "a quantity of rings, bracelets, and other small ornaments, and a varied assortment of beads, which were often buried in small wooden boxes." Likewise mentioned in the report is "a handsomely decorated stucco mummy," for which see L.H. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I-IV Centuries A.D.), with a Catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums* (Chicago 1995) 194-202 (with Bierbrier, p. 17; see also n. 63 below), as well as a "mummy-tablet...mentioning Tanis in the division of Heraclides, thus confirming our identification of that village with Manashinshāneh" (cf. n. 19 above). For all of these finds, cf. also Muhlestein and Jensen (n. 19) 56-62.

[2]

obtained last year.⁴⁷ Then we moved southwards^j and at a site about 6 miles west of Tebtunis, called Khamsîn discovered another cemetery of crocodiles.⁴⁸ It was quite small and only took 2½ days to dig, but the proportion of crocodiles stuffed with papyri was extraordinarily high, and 5 or 6 of the beasts rank in quantity [^]of papyri[^] with the best of the Tebtunis ones, except 27.⁴⁹ Fortune however dealt us a nasty blow by causing demotic to preponderate greatly.⁵⁰ Still there are some nice Greek documents, and it is rather useful that they follow immediately after the Tebtunis ones in date, belonging to Soter II, after his return from exile, and Neos Dionysus.^{51k} The Ptolemaic tombs there we had mostly dug in 1900 when we found only 8 or 9

⁴⁷ "Excavations," 1901-1902 (n. 3) 3, refers to "several sporadic papyrus mummies."

⁴⁸ Grenfell omits the duo's sojourn at Kōm Ṭalīṭ; cf. "Excavations," 1901-1902 (n. 3) 3. For Kōm al-Khamsîn, see Davoli (n. 19) 265-266; Grenfell's "west" (in conjunction with the additional information on this page of his letter) provides confirmation for her conclusion in n. 455.

⁴⁹ "Excavations," 1901-1902 (n. 3) 3-4, adds, "Several mentions occur of the village of Kerkethoëris, which may well be the ancient name of Khamsîn, though the fact that the crocodiles of Kerkeosiris were carried for burial to Tebtunis allows that this is by no means an easy inference." ("Ausgrabungen 1902" [n. 6] 181, proposes the identification with rather less hedging.) Though Grenfell and Hunt's suggestion is widely accepted, Davoli (n. 19) 266, is cautious ("tale ipotesi non è ancora stata pienamente confermata"); cf. also Timm 4.1242. Grenfell and Hunt's own objection in the EEF report is incorrect in assuming that Kerkeosiris was the locus of mummification for the Tebtunis crocodiles; cf. Verhoogt (n. 41) 49. "27": Crocodile 27, for the contents of which see Verhoogt (n. 41) 19 (a list that does not include unpublished papyri).

⁵⁰ Cf. R. Coles's description of these papyri, reported in Verhoogt (n. 41) 13, n. 41: "[M]uch of this material is demotic ... it contains no large rolls." Unsurprisingly, the published accounts of the season omit Grenfell's sentiments about demotic. His attitude may well be observable on P.Tebt. frag. 10,751-10,756, a piece of cartonnage that was scratched to reveal the text underlying the paint and *gesso*; because demotic was exposed, the object seems to have escaped further attention.

⁵¹ Ptolemy IX Soter II's return from exile: 88 BC. "Neos Dionysus": Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos reigned 80-51 BC. In his reference to the "Tebtunis ones," Grenfell must be thinking only of the "Menches" lot of the crocodile papyri, which was used by the embalmers shortly after 91 (cf. Verhoogt [n. 41] 49). At this advanced date (cf. n. 40 above) he was certainly aware of the later first-century texts (Verhoogt's "Batch 1"; pp. 17-18); cf. IE TCD MS 4323, no. 71 (27 July 1901). Note that "Excavations," 1901-1902 (n. 3) 3, indicates that the Khamsîn crocodile papyri "do not overlap *the bulk* of the crocodile papyri of Tebtunis" (my emphasis).

papyrus cartonnage mummies, the majority of them having been buried in large pit tombs vvv. which had been plundered anciently.⁵² This time [3] v. however we took the trouble to clear these out, and the desert being particularly good we recovered sundry pieces of cartonnage and even a few mummies in good condition and not much knocked about.⁵³ Then hearing that the natives had discovered a crocodile cemetery at Illahun we moved here a day or two ago. This cemetery ^necropolis^ was of course dug by Petrie 14 years ago, but not very well.⁵⁴ It is odd for instance that he didnt find out in digging the temple of Kahun that the sides of the ridge on which it stands were honeycombed with Ptolemaic tombs containing papyrus mummies (2nd cent) and that there was a nice cemetery of 3rd cent B.C. mummies within 100 yards. The natives however ^natura^ ^of course^ found out both subsequently, and naturally have destroyed pretty nearly everything.⁵⁵ The crocodile cemetery however was

⁵² The Khamsīn cartonnage from 1900 has not been located among the Tebtunis papyri in Berkeley and is probably still in Oxford.

⁵³ "Excavations," 1901-1902 (n. 3) 4, seems to exaggerate these finds, indicating that a "considerable quantity of papyrus cartonnage was ... obtained." It attributes "the usual damage to the mummies" to plundering in Antiquity, yet the large pit graves that Grenfell and Hunt were excavating suggest secondary burials; mummies interred in such might be expected to be "knocked about." "Ausgrabungen 1902" (n. 6) 182, adds, "The unplundered Ptolemaic tombs had nearly all been opened by us in 1900."

⁵⁴ Grenfell seems to be using "necropolis" here for the whole of al-Lāhūn, presumably on account of the locale's association with the pyramid of Senusret II. For Petrie's early excavations at the site (spring 1889, then 1889/1890), see W.M.F. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* (London 1890), and *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob 1889-90* (London 1891); he would return to it in later years (cf. <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/archaeology/petriedigsindex.html>, accessed 21 November 2016). Grenfell's math is slightly amiss, and his critical tone in this portion of the letter is interesting in light of the high regard in which he seems to have held his mentor Petrie just a few years earlier; see Hickey & Keenan (n. 11), letter no. IV.

⁵⁵ After excavating the crocodile cemetery, Grenfell and Hunt would turn their attention to these Ptolemaic tombs. "Excavations," 1901-1902 (n. 3) 4, indicates that they "had been extensively dug on behalf of the Museum in 1900 [cf. p. 4 of letter 1]. The tombs fell into two divisions, a later group ["2nd cent" above] on the south slopes of the hill on which was built the temple of Kahun, and an earlier one ["3rd cent" above] on an adjacent

not discovered until a few^l months ago, being
vvv. away by itself in a very low piece of desert.⁵⁶
[4]

So it is practically untouched. So far however
it has not proved a success, papyrus being scarce
and badly preserved. What papyri there are seem
to be of Augustus' time.^{57m} Whether the Ptolemaic
crocodiles are ~~th~~ included in those which have no
papyri or are somewhere else, we have not yet
decided.⁵⁸ We expect to finish this place in a
fortnightⁿ and then to move to Hawara which is
about 7 miles off, there to investigate the crocodile
tombs which Petrie found but did not dig seriously.⁵⁹
Since^o Hawara was the cemetery of Arsinoë, there
are possibilities, but I don't put much faith in
them.⁶⁰ We shall hardly get back much before

rise to the west. In the former cartonnage was fairly frequent, but in all cases had been ruined by damp; from the latter however we succeeded in extracting a number of papyrus mummies, though here too the proximity of the cultivation had had in many cases an injurious effect upon their state of preservation." "Ausgrabungen 1902" (n. 6) 182, presents a discrepant account; it makes no mention of losses due to damp and echoes Grenfell's letter in its attribution of disappointing results to Egyptian activity: "These [tombs] had to a large extent been dug by natives, but one group had escaped and the cartonnage of most of the mummies was composed of papyrus." Though the 1900 Museum excavation had been overseen by a "native" inspector, it seems likely that both the letter and "Ausgrabungen 1902" are referring to illicit digging. Grenfell may, however, be lumping all non-Western activity at the site together.

⁵⁶ "Ausgrabungen 1902" (n. 6) 182, indicates that the crocodile cemetery had been discovered "last summer" and occupied "low ground ½ mile north of the pyramid." Cf. W.M.F. Petrie, G. Brunton, and M.A. Murray, *Lahun II* (London 1923) 39, where the cemetery is described as "[a] mile or so north of the pyramid in a wide flat part of the desert." See also n. 63 below.

⁵⁷ Cf. "Excavations," 1901-1902 (n. 3) 4. No papyri or ostraka were discovered during the later examination of the cemetery documented in Petrie, Brunton, and Murray (n. 56); the amphorae uncovered were associated with the second century AD.

⁵⁸ "Excavations," 1901-1902 (n. 3) 4, states, "[C]rocodiles of the earlier type [i.e., Ptolemaic ones] produced no papyri."

⁵⁹ "Tombs" likely indicates that Grenfell is referring to Petrie's "crocodile tomb-chapels," for which see *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* (n. 54) 17-18, as well as W.M.F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (London 1889) 10 ("on the north-east of the cemetery, out in the desert"). The latter volume, however, also mentions "great quantities of crocodiles buried in the chips east and south-east of the pyramid, suggesting that this was the quarter for the crocodile burial" (p. 6). For crocodile burials at Hawara, see further I. Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village* (Leuven 2009) 23, 25, 27, 30, 477-479.

⁶⁰ In the event, Grenfell and Hunt would not make it to Hawara but would instead go to al-Ḥibah; cf. Grenfell's postscript to this letter.

April 28, and Tebtunis Ἀ, I foresee, will not be finished till the end of June.⁶¹ Are you going to the Coronation?⁶² It would be nice if you ἈcouldἈ come and pay us a visit at Oxford in the last week of June or thereabouts. Having found more^p miscellaneous antiquities than usual this time we are contemplating a joint exhibition with Petrie, so shall be in town the first week in July.⁶³
[5]^q

Jouguet has had great luck in finding papyrus mummies in good condition this time.⁶⁴ His camp was only 1½ hours from ours at Khamsîn^{65r} so we were able to exchange visits and mutually gloat over our respective finds and the ill success so far of our German rival,⁶⁶ who had the ὕβρις to select Harît which we dug in 1899, but having found nothing there has now gone elsewhere.⁶⁷ The Fayûm

⁶¹ “Before April 28”: In IE TCD MS 4323, no. 45, a postcard to Smyly dated 26 April 1902, Grenfell indicates that he has just returned to Oxford. For the publication date of *P.Tebt.* 1, see n. 40.

⁶² “Coronation”: of Edward VII (9 August 1902). See recently J. Ridley, *The Heir Apparent: A Life of Edward VII, the Playboy Prince* (New York 2013).

⁶³ The exhibition would take place and would run at University College (hence Grenfell’s “in town”) from 1 through 26 July. A short catalogue was published: W.M.F. Petrie et al., *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Found by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Abydos, and Drs. Grenfell and Hunt in the Fayum, (Egypt Exploration Fund), and Drawings from the Temple of the Kings (Sety I), (Egyptian Research Account)* (London 1902). Among the finds on display was this novelty: a “number of inscribed reeds, with directions to the mummifier regarding the measurements of the mummies,” found in a first-century AD “crocodile tomb” at al-Lāhūn (p. 7); cf. also “Excavations,” 1901-1902 (n. 3) 4. The “handsomely decorated stucco mummy” from “Manashinshāneh” (n. 46 above) is also mentioned but attributed (as are all the other finds from that site) to Silah (p. 8). Representing the discoveries of the 1900/1901 season (cf. letter 1 above) was “a small hoard of Alexandrian bronze found at Dimeh” (p. 9).

⁶⁴ Cf. P. Jouguet and G. Lefebvre, “Papyrus de Magdôla,” *BCH* 26 (1902) 95-128, and “Papyrus de Magdôla, 2^e série,” *BCH* 27 (1903) 174-205.

⁶⁵ Jouguet was excavating the modern Medīnet Naḥas. Google Maps (consulted 23 November 2016) puts the walking distance between it and Kôm al-Khamsîn at 7.1 km; the walking time, 1 hour, 25 minutes.

⁶⁶ Their “German rival” was Otto Rubensohn, on whom see J. Kuckertz, “Otto Rubensohn (1867-1964),” in *Hermæ: Scholars and Scholarship in Papyrology* 3 (Pisa 2013) 41-56.

⁶⁷ Cf. Kuckertz (n. 66) 46, “Im Sinne des Ziels der Grabung, der Gewinnung von Papyri, war Theadelphia [Grenfell’s “Harît”] allerdings recht enttäuschend, deshalb wurde das Lager nach Abu Hamid verlegt, wo man sowohl im dortigen Friedhof als auch in Siedlungsbereichen arbeitete.” After two weeks, Rubensohn would then shift his attention to Tebtunis. See further his own account of the season, O. Rubensohn, “Aus griechisch-römischen

has is frightfully exhausted. We are on the track of one or two rather promising sites in Upper Egypt for next year. The use of papyrus cartonnage was by no means confined to the Fayûm, and we have been buying some rather good pieces from a new place, though they cant see the light unfortunately for some years yet.⁶⁸ But in view of the approaching slump in Ptolemaic papyri vv. owing to the various new discoveries it behoves you to get out P.P. III as soon as possible.⁶⁹ v. Jouguet will make rather a mess of his, I expect, [sic] He is a very nice chap, but hasnt much idea of reading a papyrus – still less of undoing a mummy case.⁷⁰

We have been favoured by exceptionally gorgeous weather and have had a rare good time. The next month will be more trying probably, for the sirocco
[6]
is now due.⁷¹

The nice example set by Dublin in giving me a degree was not long in being followed by Germany which has made us Ph Ds of Königsberg.⁷²

Häusern des Fayum,” *JDAI* 20 (1905) 1-25, wherein it is noted, “An beiden Orten [Theadelphia and Tebtunis] folgten wir den Spuren Grenfells und Hunts” (p. 1, n. 2), and reference is made to “[eine freundliche] Mitteilung Grenfells” (p. 19).

⁶⁸ The “new place” was al-Hibah (see also the postscript to this letter); *P.Hib.* 1 would appear in 1906. Grenfell’s “for some years yet” is contradicted by “Excavations,” 1901-1902 (n. 3) 5, “[I]t is proposed to issue a first instalment of the Hibeh collection in 1903” (this is expressed as a “hope” in “Ausgrabungen 1902,” [n. 6] 183). For the purchases that Grenfell mentions, cf. *P.Hib.* 1, p. xv, which dates them to February and March.

⁶⁹ “P.P. III” is *P.Petr.* 3, which would appear in 1905. The volume was “edited ostensibly in collaboration with Mahaffy, but in reality very largely by Smyly himself” (McGing [n. 14] 907).

⁷⁰ For the *editiones principes* of Jouguet’s papyri, see n. 64; Grenfell’s assessment of Jouguet, n. 35.

⁷¹ See n. 28.

⁷² For Grenfell’s honorary Litt. D. from Trinity, cf. *Dublin Daily Nation*, 29 June 1900, p. 3 (“B. T. Grenfell” [sic]); the “Rev Prof Mahaffy, S[enior] F[ellow]” is listed (first) among the Fellows who were present. Hunt would not receive the same honor until 1909; cf. *Dublin Daily Express*, 1 July 1909, pp. 5-6, which includes a translation of the Latin oration made on the occasion. At the time of Grenfell’s letter, Königsberg was the academic home of the juristic papyrologist Otto Gradenwitz (1860-1935), who was first and foremost a legal historian; see further M. Kaser, “Otto Gradenwitz,” in *Neue deutsche Biographie* (Berlin 1964) 6:702-703. Smyly could have already known about the Königsberg degrees

There is no hood, I regret to say. The Dublin
 one excites much envy among my colleagues.
 Love to Mahaffy. Dont let him put any of the facts
 of this letter into print. ~~We~~ There is not the least
 chance of our being able to come to Dublin this year,
 I fear. Indeed now that the French & Germans have
 taken up papyrus digging we shall go on with it
 regularly so long as we, the sites & the money
 last, and so shall always be as busy as ever in England.

Hoping to see you in the summer and
 with remembrances from Hunt

Yours ever

B. P. Grenfell

P.S. March 13. We have bought some more papyri today which
 came from the new place S. of the Fayoum,⁷³ and as the natives
 are obviously plundering it we are applying for leave to go
 vv. and dig there ~~ne~~^t in 10 days [sic] time.⁷⁴

ⁱ On the document itself, "42" is written in pencil over "50," which has been erased.

^j In this line "st year" and "we moved southwa" are excessively inked.

^k The "D" of "Dionysus" appears to be a correction.

^l The word "few" is smudged, as is the "le" of "crocodile" in the preceding line.

^m There is a superfluous point (a period?) before "time."

ⁿ The "rt" of "fortnight" is all but invisible (due to rubbing?).

^o "Since" is very faint (cf. n. n).

^p "Having found more" is excessively inked; cf. n. j.

^q "42" is written in pencil at the top of this sheet. To its right the same hand has written "2" in ink (to indicate that this is the second sheet of the letter).

^r A point of ink (a period? the beginning of a comma?) follows "Khamsîn" (the "s" of "so" does not appear to be capitalized).

^s The second half of "sirocco" ("occo") is printed (i.e., not in cursive).

^t The cancelled "ne" is perhaps the beginning of "next," i.e., "next week."

since they had been announced in the Irish press; cf. *Freeman's Journal*, 24 January 1902 ("for great services rendered by them in the field of Egyptian research").

⁷³ See n. 68.

⁷⁴ According to *P.Hib.* 1, p. xv, the al-Ḥibah excavation began on 24 March, i.e., 12 days after Grenfell's letter is dated.

P.Oxy. 24.2408: A REVISED EDITION

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Abstract. — This article re-edits *P.Oxy.* 24.2408, one of five pieces of correspondence emanating from the office of the *praefectus annonae Alexandriae*. It complements and corrects an earlier article: J.G. Keenan, “Cargo Checking at Alexandria and the Late Antique *Annona*: *P.Turner* 45,” in J.-L. Fournet and A. Papaconstantinou (eds.), *Mélanges Jean Gascou. Textes et études papyrologiques (P.Gascou)* (Paris 2016) 579-589.

P.Oxy. 24.2408, dating to AD 397, was published in 1957.¹ At the time there was only one parallel for the editor to work from, *P.Ryl.* 4.652, published five years earlier. Both were sets of fourth-century correspondence issuing from the office of the prefect of the *annona* in Alexandria, the Rylands papyrus, with its autograph attestations (lines 11-15), being an original, the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, with its witness attestations in a single hand (lines 12-13), a copy. Both documents, even in their fragmentary states, were notably wide in their formats. By good chance, it was the left side of the Rylands papyrus and the right side of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus that survived. Thus the Rylands papyrus was useful for restoring some elements from the missing side of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, and the Oxyrhynchus papyrus was suggestive of restorations and emendations needed in the Rylands papyrus.

It was not until 1979 that a third papyrus joined the little dossier previously limited to the Rylands and Oxyrhynchus papyri. This came in the form of a Leipzig fragment edited by Dieter Hagedorn in *ZPE* 34, a piece that did not use the template that structures the other two papyri but was notable for its use of Latin in its first and last lines.² In 1981, a fourth document joined the dossier, a Michigan papyrus edited by John Shelton

¹ This article is based on my paper at the 28th International Congress of Papyrology, Barcelona, 1–6 August 2016. I thank Todd Hickey for vetting an earlier draft and the *BASP* referees for their careful reading and helpful criticism of the submitted ms., absolving them all, of course, from surviving or fresh defects. I have also benefited from productive email exchanges with Peter van Minnen.

² D. Hagedorn, “Zwei neue Leipziger Papyri,” *ZPE* 34 (1979) 101-107, at 101-104; now *SB* 16.12580 (TM 32589).

as *P.Turner* 45. This papyrus is an impressive specimen, a copy (like *P.Oxy.* 2408), not an original (like *P.Ryl.* 652), complete from left to right and top to bottom, with a pertinent two-line docket on the verso. In 1996, Francisca Hoogendijk in *ZPE* 112 added a fifth and, to date, final document to the prefectural dossier, a Vienna papyrus in two fragments, once again a copy, or copies, not an original.³ This was also an occasion for Hoogendijk's re-editing of *P.Ryl.* 652 and offering important improvements, her own and Hagedorn's, to the text of *P.Oxy.* 2408.⁴ In 2011, Klaas Worp and associates reproduced *P.Turner* 45 as *P.Mich.* 20.816, it having been identified as belonging to a grain transportation archive of the Oxyrhynchus *boule*.⁵ Finally, in 2016, I offered a reinterpretation of *P.Turner* 45.10-14, which, in turn, provided a model for reinterpreting the parallel passage at *P.Oxy.* 2408.6-8.⁶ Based on that and on Hoogendijk's and Hagedorn's corrections, a complete re-edition of *P.Oxy.* 2408 seemed not only desirable, but necessary. The result is a edition that leaves only one line of the original untouched, and even that, line 10 (see note ad loc.), is left intact only with misgiving.

Below, for purposes of identification it will be convenient to refer to the five papyri, following the chronology of their first editions, as *SB* 24.16262 (the Rylands papyrus), *P.Oxy.* 2408, *SB* 16.12580 (the Leipzig fragment), *SB* 24.16261 (the Vienna fragments), and *P.Turner* 45 (still the "editio maior" of the correspondence portions of the Michigan papyrus). My article, "Cargo Checking," will be cited as *P.Gascou* with relevant page numbers. This new edition incorporates pertinent corrections from *BL*. It tacitly introduces variations from the *ed. pr.* in terms of dots and brackets, with one exception (see commentary note on line 2).

- 1 [Φλάουιος Ν.Ν. ὁ λαμπρότατος ἔ]παρχος *vacat* ἀνώνῃης Ἀλεξαν-
δρείας *vacat* ἐξάκτορι *vacat*
- 2 [Ὁξυρυγίτου *vacat*] *vacat* χα(ίρειν).

³ F.A.J. Hoogendijk, "Brief des *praefectus annonae Alexandriae* mit amtlicher Meldung der Ablieferung und Registration von Weizen," *ZPE* 112 (1996) 165-177.

⁴ Reported in *BL* 11.161-162 and 12.145; see earlier *BL* 8.257.

⁵ Identification of the archive: P.J. Sijpesteijn, "What Happened to Tax-Grain upon Arrival at Alexandria?" *Cd'É* 69 (1994) 132-137, at 134 n. 6. Sijpesteijn (see *BL* 10.148) thought *P.Oxy.* 2408 "probably" belonged to the archive; but because it is dated A.D. 397, it lies outside the chronological range, A.D. 354-374, of the dated documents gathered in *P.Mich.* 20.

⁶ J. G. Keenan, "Cargo Checking at Alexandria and the Late Antique *Annona*: *P.Turner* 45," in J.-L. Fournet and A. Papaconstantinou (eds.), *Mélanges Jean Gascou. Textes et études papyrologiques (P.Gascou)* (Paris 2016) 579-589.

- 3 [κατὰ τὴν ἀποσταλῖσαν παρὰ σοῦ πρὸς τὴν τάξιν ἀναφορὰν γίνωσκε
εἰσκε]κ[ο]μίσθαι τοῖς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρει[α]ν θείοις θησαυροῖς
ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ σέ νομοῦ διὰ Μακροβίου καὶ Φιλαίου καὶ
- 4 [κοινωνῶν ἐπιμελητῶν διὰ Ἀμμωνίου ±15 ὑπὲρ ἑνδεκάτης
ἰνδι]κτίονος σίτου[υ ἀρ]τάβ[ας δισ]χιλίας *vacat*
- 5 [- - - τῇ - - - Αὐγ]ούστων ὑπατία Φλα[ουίου]υ Καισαρίου καὶ
Ἀττικ[οῦ τ]ῶν λαμπροτάτων καὶ ἀναφέρεσθαι τοῖς
- 6 [λόγοις ἐξ ὑποσημείωσης N.N. καὶ (N.N. καὶ N.N. καί?) Ἀσκ]λᾶ
ἀπὸ στρατιάς ὑποδεκ[τῶ]ν καὶ ἐξ ἀναφορᾶς ἰδίου κινδύνου
Ἄρποκῶ καὶ Ταυρίνου καὶ Ἀγάθ[ω]γος
- 7 [τῶν ταβουλαρίων τῆς τάξεως καὶ N.N.] κ[αὶ N]εμεσίνου οἰκο-
νόμων καὶ Ἀμμωνίου βοηθοῦ διὰ κεντήσεως ἧς τὸ ἀντίτυπον
ὑποτέτ[ακ]ται.
- 8 [ἡ ἐμὴ καθοσίωσις μεμάθηκεν ὅπερ τῆς καταβολῆς ἔνεκεν
ἀντιγ]ραφῆναι σοι προσέταξα. *vacat*
- 9 [Φλ(αούϊω) N.N. τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ ἀνώνης Ἀλεξανδρεία]ς.
ἴσθι, κ[ύρι]ε, εἰσκεκομίσθαι τοῖς ὀρρίοις κατὰ τὴν ἀναφορὰν
τῶν προκίμενων οἰκονόμων καὶ τοῦ προκίμενου
- 10 [βοηθοῦ ± 51]θεις ἐν κοττιδιανοῖς λόγοις ἐπὶ ὑπογραφῆς
τῶν προειρημένων ἀπὸ νομοῦ Ὁξυρυγί[τ]ου διὰ Ἀμμωνίου
ὑπὲρ [ἐν]δεκάτης
- 11 [ἰνδικτίονος σίτου ἀρτάβας δισχιλίας - - -]ου. ἴν' ἰδέναι ἔχοι
σοῦ ἢ <ἀρετῇ>, δηλοῦμεν, κύρ[ι]ε. *vacat*
- 12 [Φλ(άουιος) N.N. ταβουλάριος(?) συμφωνῖ τὸ προκείμενον μέτρον
τοῦ] σίτου [ἐ]ν ἀρτάβαις δισχιλίαις. Φλ[[α]](άουιος) Νεμεσίνος
οἰκονόμος συμφωνῖ τὸ προκείμενον μέτρον τοῦ σίτου ἐν
ἀρτάβαις δισχι[λί]αις.
- 13 [Φλ(άουιος) N.N. ὑποδέκτης ἐσημειωσάμην τῇ<ν> ἀπο]χή<ν>
τοῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου σίτου ἀρταβῶν δισχιλίων. *vac.* Ἄριος
βοηθὸς συμφωνῖ δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀγάθωνος σκρινιαρίου ἐν ἀρτάβαις
δισχιλίαι[ς].
- 14 [(2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος N.N. ἐπιμελητῆς ἔσχον τὴν ἐ]νεκτίσαν ἀπὸ
σοῦ αὐθεντικὴν ἀποχὴν. *vacat*
- 15 [(3rd hand) Αὐρήλιος N.N. ἐπιμελητῆς ἔσχον {τη]ν αποχ} τὴν
ἐνεκτίσαν ἀπὸ σοῦ αὐθεντικὴν ἀποχὴν τοῦδε τοῦ ἰσοτύπου
ὅς πρόκειται. *vacat*

2 χα(ίρειν) (see comm.) 3 read ἀποσταλεῖσαν (see comm.), νομο^o, μακροβιο^o, φιλαίο^o pap. 5 καισαριο^o pap. 6 read ὑποσημειώσεως, ἰδιο^o κινδυν^o pap., read ἰδίῳ κινδύνῳ, ταυρινο^o pap. 7 νεμεσινο^o, αμμωνιο^o, βοηθο^o pap. 9 read προκειμένων, το^o προκείμενο^o pap., read προκειμένου 10 νομο^o οξυρυγίτο^o, αμμωνιο^o pap.

11 ἰσηρ^ο pap., ἴν pap., read εἰδέναι 12 σιτο^ο(?) pap., read συμφωνεῖ τὸ προκείμενον
 bis, Φλ/[α] (see comm.), το^ο σιτο^ο pap. 13 οξυρυγχιτο^ο σιτο^ο(?) pap., read συμφωνεῖ,
 εμο^ο, σκρινιαριο^ο pap. 14, 15 read ἐνεχθείσαν 15 read ὥς (BL 11.162) πρόκειται

- 1 [Flavius N.N., the most brilliant] prefect of the *annona* of Alexandria,
to the *exactor*
- 2 [of the Oxyrhynchite nome,] greetings.
- 3 [According to the report sent by you to the *officium* know that there
have been] stored in the divine storehouses in Alexandria from
the nome in your charge through Makrobios and Phileas and
- 4 [their associate *epimeletai* through Ammonios . . . for the eleventh
indiction [two] thousand artabas of wheat
- 5 [- - - on the (day) - - - of Aug]ust, in the consulship of F[laviu]s
Caesarius and Atticus the most brilliant and that this has been
recorded in the
- 6 [accounts upon subscription by N.N. and (N.N. and N.N. and?)
Ask]las, military veterans(?), tax collectors; and, upon report,
at their own risk, by Harpokras and Taurinos and Agathon,
- 7 [the accountants of the office; and by N.N.] and Nemesinos, managers;
and by Ammonios, assistant, through a pricking whose copy is
appended below.
- 8 [My devotion has learned this very thing, which, in consideration of
the payment,] I have ordered to be written in reply to you.
- 9 [To Flavius N.N., the most brilliant prefect of the *annona* of Alexan-
dria]. Know, lord, that there have been stored in the granaries
according to the report of the above managers and the above
- 10 [assistant - - - (and are being entered)] in the daily accounts upon
subscription of the aforementioned from the Oxyrhynchite nome
through Ammonios for the eleventh
- 11 [indiction, two thousand artabas of wheat - - -]. So that your <Excel-
lency> may be able to know, we report, lord.
- 12 [Fl(avius) N.N., accountant(?), approves the above measure of] wheat
at two thousand artabas. Fl(avius) Nemesinos, manager, approves
the above measure of wheat at two thousand artabas.
- 13 [I, Fl(avius) N.N., tax collector, have signed the] receipt of the Oxy-
rhynchite wheat of two thousand artabas. Arios, assistant,
approves through me, Agathon, *scriniarius*, at two thousand
artabas.
- 14 [(2nd hand) I, Aurelius N.N., *epimeletes*, have received] the authentic
receipt acquired from you.
- 15 [(3rd hand) I, Aurelius N.N., *epimeletes*, have received {th}e recei-} the
authentic receipt acquired from you of this copy as stated above.

1 For the status designation Flavius as applied to the prefect: *P.Turner* 45.2, *SB* 24.16262.1, thus the restoration also in line 9. For λαμπρότατος, indicating senatorial rank, replacing the *ed. pr.*'s διασημότατος, see *P.Turner* 45.2n. (*BL* 8.257).

– ἐξάκτορι: the lower right leg of κ sweeps grandly below -τορ-. Similar sweeps from κ also appear below, assisting readings in lines 3 εἰσκει]κ[ο]μίσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ, 4 ἰνδι]κτίονος, 5 καὶ Ἀττικ[οῦ, 6 κινδύνου, καὶ Ταυρίνου, 7 οἰκονόμων, κεντήσεως, 11 κύρ[ι]ε, and 12 οἰκονόμος.

2 χα(ίρειν): χ[αί]ρ(ειν), *ed. pr.* The editor was evidently misled by the rising elongated loop from the Latinate δ of διά in line 3, one of whose sides helps create the appearance of ρ in the present line; the *ed. pr.*'s brackets indicating loss of text are apparently typographical errors for parentheses denoting abbreviation. In fact, α is written directly above χ but finished off with a horizontal stroke ending in a downward inward curl.

3 ἀποσταλῖσαν: restored with ι rather than ει (cf. analogous restorations in lines 6 and 12) to conform to the copyist's regular practice of reducing ει to ι. See lines 9, 11, 12, and 13 for examples. This spelling recurs at *P.Turner* 45.4 and *SB* 24.16262.3 in the same template position as here.

4 The supplements are suggested by *P.Turner* 45.5-6 (see *BL* 12.145, cf. *SB* 24.16262.5). For Ammonios, see line 10 below; he is presumably not the same as Ammonios the βοηθός in line 7 (*ZPE* 112 [1996] 172 n. 23). Reference to his title as ship's captain, πολυκωπίτου or κυβερνήτου (*P.Mich.* 20, Index 8 at p. 210; *P.Turner* 45.6), may have followed. This with a definite article would just about fill out the rest of the lacuna as presently estimated, but the combination of name + article + πολυκωπίτου or κυβερνήτου is as yet unparalleled in this locus.

– ἐνδεκάτης: restored on the basis of lines 10-11: ὑπὲρ [ἐν]δεκάτης | [ἰνδικτίονος (below, line 10n.) and in consonance with the consuls of line 5 (see note ad loc.).

– δις]χιλίας: cf. line 11 (restored), 12 (*bis*), and 13 (*bis*); an unusually rounded number, and somewhat high when set against the precise numbers in artabas, down sometimes to halves, in other texts: *P.Turner* 45.6-9 and 16ff. ($890\frac{1}{2} + 1,052\frac{1}{2} = 1,943$), *P.Mich.* 20.803 (632), 804 (573), 806 ($211 + 1,030 = 1,241$), 808 (1091), 809 = 810 (1,015), 812 ($1462\frac{1}{2}$), etc. For ship capacities, not necessarily identical with cargo sizes, see I.J. Poll, "Ladefähigkeit und Grösse der Nilschiffe," *APF* 42 (1996) 127-138.

5 Αὐγ[ού]στων: in 1978 Bagnall and Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* (Missoula, MT 1979) 44 (reported in *BL* 8.257) established that this refers to the Roman month; it is not the final term of an imperial title, for whose deletion from the *ed. pr.* see now also *CSBE*² p. 251 n. 3. The same year, P.J. Sijpesteijn (*ZPE* 33 [1979] 231, n. 12; reported in *BL* 8.257) expressed doubts about the *ed. pr.*'s restoration of πρὸ καλ(ανδῶν). Indication of month and day in Roman style is expected (*P.Turner* 45.8 [Ides], *SB* 24.16262.7 [Kalends]), but specifics cannot be supplied.

– Φλα[ουί]οῦ Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀττικ[οῦ]: Φλα[ουί]ων κτλ. *ed. pr.*; but there is an oblique stroke after the first lacuna, noted by one of the *BASP* readers, that is consonant with the right side of υ in suspension (examples noted in the app. crit.), not at all consonant with final ν, whether written out or suspended. For Caesarius (*PLRE* 1.171 s.v. Fl. Caesarius 6) and Atticus (*PLRE* 1.586-587 s.v. Nonius Atticus Maximus 34), see *CSBE*², pp. 139, 192, *CLRE*, pp. 328-329; a recent addition: *P.Bagnall* 27. Their treatment with respect to application of the designation Flavius, whether in reference to their consulship or post-consulship, varies. The plural is written out in full in *P.Flor.* 1.66.1, *PSI* 1.34.1 (DDbDP version), and *P.Strasb.* 8.713.1; printed as Φ[λαυί]ων in *P.Lips.* 1.56.1 (but ν is hard to make out in the online image); and restored in *P.Giss.* 52.1. In *P.Bagnall* 27.13 it is restored in abbreviation and resolved in the plural, Φλ(αουίων). Against this, and without explanation, in *P.Herm.* 52.1 and 53.1 the editor resolves Φλ/ in the singular as if applicable only to Caesarius. Worth noting is that in the documentary record (according to all references in this note) Atticus only appears as Flavius when covered by the plural that precedes Caesarius's name.

6-8 See Hoogendijk's corrections and supplements as reported in *BL* 11.161-162.

6 ἐξ ὑποσημιώσεως: see *P.Turner* 45.10; restored in *SB* 24.16261.6 and 16262.7. This phrase is the controlling syntactical element down to βοηθοῦ in line 7 with ἐξ ἀναφορᾶς being subsidiary to it and, in my view, relevant only to the officials that follow; therefore, in *P.Oxy.* 2408, not to the *hypodektai*, but to the [*tabularii*], *oikonomoi*, and *boethos*. See lines 9-10n.

One of the *BASP* readers suggests that ὑποσημείωσις may be the referent of ἧς in line 7. It would have its usual meaning, "subscription"; the phrase διὰ κεντήσεως would refer to an action performed during the undersigning, that

is, the subscribing would have been done διὰ κεντήσεως, “by pricking” (see line 7n.). Favoring this idea are *P.Oxy.* 2408.12-13, *P.Turner* 45.17-23, *SB* 24.16261.11-12 and 16262.12-15, where sets of signatures are in fact reproduced. Troublesome, however, are the distance of ὑποσημείωσης from its supposed relative pronoun (not an impossible leap in this kind of bureaucratic Greek); the intermediate intrusion of the phrase ἐξ ἀναφορᾶς (excluded as referent of ἧς in *P.Turner* 45 at *P.Gascou*, p. 582, an exclusion extended to *P.Oxy.* 2408, *ibid.*, pp. 584-585); the adjacency of κεντήσεως to the relative pronoun (cf. *P.Gascou*, p. 583 with n. 22); and the question whether the prepositions ἐξ and διὰ are interchangeable in signaling phrases through which copies are acknowledged as having been appended. Neither in the copied nor in the original signatures are there any traces of pricking.

There is an intriguing entry in Lampe’s *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1453 s.v. ὑποσημείωσις 3: καθ’ ἕκαστον ἀριθμὸν ὑ. διὰ κινναβάρεως πρόκειται, δηλοῦσα ἐν ποίῳ τῶν δέκα κανόνων κείμενος ὁ ἀριθμὸς τυγχάνει (from Eusebius’s *Epistula ad Carpianum* at Migne, *PG* 22.1277A). Here ὑποσημείωσις is not a document but the *marking* of a document, while διὰ κινναβάρεως refers to the red ink used in that marking, probably by underlining. Even if this passage does not solve the lexical problems in *P.Oxy.* 2408.6-7, it provides another bit of evidence in favor of separating διὰ from κεντήσεως in line 7.

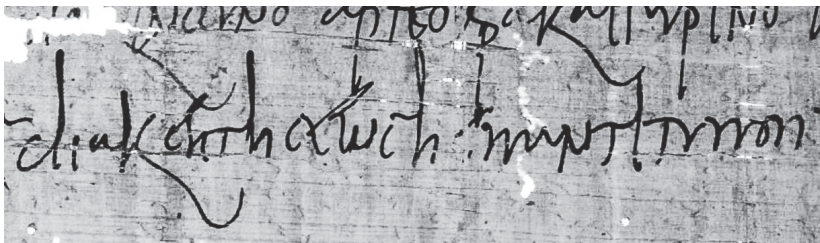
– Ἀσκ]λᾶ: other supplements are possible, but Asklas is a common Oxyrhynchite name, here specifically borrowed from *P.Turner* 45.11: Ἀσκλᾶ ἀπὸ στρατιᾶς ὑποδεκτῶν, with no insistence that the two *hypodektai* be identical.

7 The restoration τῶν ταβουλαρίων τῆς τάξεως is taken from *P.Turner* 45.12. It presumes the order of officials in *P.Oxy.* 2408 is the same as in *P.Turner* 45; that is, the four categories of officials come in the order *hypodektai*, *tabularii*, *oikonomoi*, *boethos*. See *P.Gascou*, pp. 584-585.

– διὰ κεντήσεως: rather than διακεντήσεως. For the separation, see *P.Gascou*, pp. 581-583, a possibility already raised in *P.Oxy.* 2408.7n. and *P.Turner* 45.13n. The phrase is also found in *P.Turner* 45.13 and *SB* 16.12580.5; it is, I believe (*P.Gascou*, p. 586), misread in *SB* 24.16261.6. In *P.Gascou*, pp. 579-589, I argued that the κέντησις was a previously unrecognized type of document, literally a pricking, piercing, or puncturing. Speculation on the nature and appearance of such a document

(*P.Gascou*, pp. 583, 587) included one that imagined a bill of lading on papyrus whose amounts were checked by pricking actual holes against tallies at the appropriate marginal places and another that saw the documents in question as having been, in their original form, inscribed on wax tablets. In the latter scenario, κέντησις was seen as analogous to the Latin *punctio*, associated with *punctum* in the sense of “a mark resembling a puncture” (*OLD* 1520 s.v. *punctum* 3, cf. 1521 s.v. *pungo* 2, cf. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* 2.658-659 s.v. κέντημα 3). According to this line of thought, in yet a third scenario, a κέντησις was a bill of lading whose amounts were examined upon arrival and, upon being checked, marked by ink dots in the left margin. I could offer no surviving example of such documents, though cf. perhaps the dots on the back of *P.Oxy.* 68.4685, “Lists of ships and freights.”

Peter van Minnen (email, January 12, 2017) suggests associating κέντησις and its cognates with secondary senses having to do with stitching or sewing (cf. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, p. 658 s.v. κεντέω 2 [to stitch, to sew], pp. 658-659 s.v. κέντημα 2 [a stitching, sewing]; Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 744 s.v. κεντέω 2 [plait, weave], s.v. κέντημα 3 [stitch, in basket making]). In this interpretation, ὑποσημείωσις comes to mean something like “a series of ὑπογραφαί” and κέντησις remains, as before, a previously unrecognized document type, a “patchwork,” and referent of the relative pronoun ἧς. Treating κέντησις and cognates in their association with mosaics and the making of mosaics (LSJ, p. 939 s.v. κέντησις 2, Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 744 s.vv. κέντησις 2, κεντέω 3) would lead to the same structural result, though under a different meaning of the word.



– ἧς τὸ ἀντίτυπον: ἡ ἐπ’ ἀντ., *ed. pr.*; ἡ ἐπ’ ἀντ., DDbDP; ἧς τ’ ἀντ., Skeat *apud P.Oxy.* 2408.7n.; ἧς τὸ ἀντ., Hoogendijk (dot omitted from *BL* 11.162, probably because it is difficult to discern at *ZPE* 112 [1996] 173 n. 28); ἧς {π} <τὸ?> ἀντ., *P.Gascou*, pp. 584-585. The writing

of what should be the definite article is scrawled as two and a half arches: the right side of one half arch and then two full arches. The writer is unlikely to have made the kind of mistake assumed in *P.Gascou*, loc.cit. It therefore seems best to consider the writing between the ζ of ἥζ and the α of ἀντίτυπον as a small specimen of *Verschleifung*, of a very common word, with τ seemingly discernable but ο impossible to distinguish. For the editorial treatment of this I follow N. Gonis, “Abbreviations and Symbols,” chapter 7 in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 170-178, at 177, by printing without dots the letters that must be there, as assured by *P.Turner* 45.13 and *SB* 24.16262.9.

– ἀντίτυπον: a relatively rare word for an official “copy” (14 hits on DDbDP, last accessed May 26, 2017). For present purposes, see in particular *P.Turner* 45.1 (resolved), 13, 24; *SB* 24.16262.9, cf. 16261.7 (restored). Apart from three examples from the Babatha archive, the word’s popularity, if one may call it that, was in the 3rd-5th centuries, notably among papyri from Oxyrhynchus.

– For the period at the end of this line, see *P.Oxy.* 2408.7n.

9-11 This component is also found in *SB* 24.16261.8-10 (heavily restored) and 16262.10-11, but not at the corresponding position in *P.Turner* 45, where it has been “omitted” (*P.Turner* 45.13n.). The extant passages seemingly refer to the “reports” (ἀναφοραί) issued by officials of the prefect’s staff to the *exactōr* (*P.Oxy.* 2408.6, 9; *P.Turner* 45.11; *SB* 24.16261.6 [restored], 8; 16262.10) rather than to the (earlier) reports sent by the *exactor* to the prefect’s staff (*P.Oxy.* 2408.3 [restored]; *P.Turner* 45.4; *SB* 16261.3 [restored], 16262.4).

9 Cf. *P.Oxy.* 2408.9n., regarding restoration of the prefect’s name and titles, based upon expectations provided by *SB* 24.16262.10.

– Ἀλεξανδρεία]ζ. ἴσθι, κ[ύρι]ε, εἰσκεκομίσθαι:] εἴσθι, κ[ύρι]ε, εἰσκεκομίσθαι, *BL* 11.162, cf. *SB* 24.16262.10. In favor of ἴσθι is its elimination of the (minor) orthographical anomaly founded upon a highly damaged letter read as ε, of which only a low positioned, slightly upturned tick remains, conformable to the lower components of either ε or lunate ζ. An additional consideration is the copyist’s tendency to reduce εἰ to ι (above, line 3n.), never the other way around. Against it is how closely the damaged ζ presses upon the large ι that follows. But the very size of the ι may suggest a new word and sentence. It is worth comparing at the start of line 11 how closely superscript υ comes to the ι of ἴν’.

9-10 κατὰ τὴν ἀναφορὰν τῶν προκιμένων οἰκονόμων καὶ τοῦ προκιμένου | [βοηθοῦ: curiously, in lines 6-7, if the restoration is correct, the ἀναφορά, as in *P.Turner* 45.11-12, seems most closely associated with the *tabularii*. Here the involvement is expressly with the *oikonomoi* (though unnamed) and likely with the *boethos* (the restoration seems certain).

10]θεις ἐν κοιτιδιανοῖς λόγοις: as essentially in *ed. pr.* Parallels from the dossier (*P.Turner* 45.10, *SB* 24.16261.5 [restored], 16262.7 [restored], not to mention line 5 above) suggest the need for the infinitive ἀναφέρεισθαι in the lacuna or, better, at the end of the lacuna and spilling over into the letters immediately following, i.e., ἀναφέρεισθαι. But what can be read of these traces does not conform to expectation. In another complication, the cited parallels suggest ἀναφέρεισθαι does not require ἐν before λόγοις.

- κοιτιδιανοῖς: the loanword remains a papyrological *hapax*.
- ἐπὶ ὑπογραφῆς τῶν προειρημένων ἀπὸ νομοῦ Ὁξυρυγχί[τ]ου: the *exactor* (line 1) qualifies as being “of the aforementioned from the Oxyrhynchite nome,” but allusion to “subscription” indicates this is a cross-reference to the *epimeletai* of lines 3-4 and 14-15.
- [ἐν]δεκάτης: in conformity with the consuls of AD 397 (line 5 and note).

11 ἀρτάβας δισχιλίας: *SB* 24.16261.9 and 16262.11 prove that the amount of wheat in artabas belongs here.

-]ρηου: it is tempting to try to force a reading of β]ρηθοῦ. The difficult reading that follows is D. Hagedorn’s (*BL* 11.162), cf. *SB* 16262.11. *Iota* of ἴν’ is written extra large, perhaps with diaeresis, which I take to mark the beginning of a new sentence; see above, line 9n., regarding the initial ι of ἴσθι. <ἀρετή> is supplied from *SB* 24.16262.11 and restored in 16261.9. For the phrase ἴν’ εἰδέναι ἔχοι + honorific abstraction as subject of ἔχοι, see also *P.Oxy.* 45.3265.12, 60.4089.7-8, and 67.4602.8; for the optative: Gignac, *Grammar* 2.359-361.

12-13 *P.Turner* 45.17-23 establish that the officials of the prefect’s office were accorded the status designation Flavius, at least by A.D. 374; I take Arios in line 13, without Flavius, as an exception.

- 12 ταβουλάριος(?): see below, note on line 13.
- Φλ[[α]](άουτος): the writer started to write this in full, then changed to abbreviation with // cutting through and canceling *alpha*. Intruding into

the grapheme is a sweeping stroke from κ of κύρ[ι]ξ in line 11; see above, line 1n., lemma on ἐξάκτορι, for examples of this palaeographical phenomenon. Ordinarily the double oblique stroke would point to resolution in the plural, but this is not the case here.

13 [Φλ(άουιος) Ν.Ν. ὑποδέκτης ἐσημειωσάμην τή<ν> ἀπο]χή<ν>: [Ἀμμώνιος βοηθός c. 20 ll. ἀπο]χή, *ed. pr.*; “perhaps” (viell.) [Ἀμμώνιος ὑποδέκτης ἐσημειωσάμην τή<ν> ἀπο]χή<ν>, *ed. pr.* + *BL* 11.162. Perhaps also restore αὐθεντική<ν> after τή<ν>. The suggested ὑποδέκτης ἐσημειωσάμην τή<ν> ἀπο]χή<ν> is based on *P.Turner* 45.19 where, as the *BL* entry presumes, the copied certification of the *hypodektes*, with the same losses of nu, deviates in form from that of the other three certifications, constructed upon the verb συμφωνεῖ. In *P.Turner* 45.11-14, nine potential witnesses are listed (four *hypodektai*, two *tabularii*, two *oikonomoi*, and one *boethos*). In *P.Turner* 45.17-23, there are four copied sign-offs, one from each of the four categories of officials of lines 11-14. A like situation arises in *P.Oxy.* 2408. Lines 6-8 allow for at least eight signatories (at least two *hypodektai*, at least three *tabularii*(?), at least two *oikonomoi*, and one *boethos*). Lines 12-13, at two per line, provide four certifications. Of these, the second examples in each line are well preserved: one is that of Flavius Nemesinos, *oikonomos* (line 12, cf. line 7), the other that of Arios, *boethos* (line 13). If, then, the *hypodektes* is the certifier in line 13’s first half, by process of elimination, a *tabularius* is the certifier in line 12’s first half. Moreover, if the theory of one “signature” for each class of officials is true (*P.Gascou*, p. 582), the *ed. pr.*’s [Ἀμμώνιος βοηθός is doubly eliminated: (1) because, as per *BL* 11.162, the first part of line 13 belongs to a *hypodektes* and (2) because a *boethos* named Arios occupies the second part of the same line. Note that this arrangement, if correctly understood, contributes further to eliminating ἀναφορά as the referent of ἧς in line 7; cf. *P.Gascou*, p. 582. Note further that Arios in this line (not among those listed in lines 6-8) substitutes for Ammonios, *boethos* (line 7), just as in *P.Turner* 45 Flavius Ammonios, *boethos* (line 23), substitutes as such for Dionysios (line 13).

– Ἀγάθωνος σκρινιάρχου: perhaps not the same as Agathon [*tabularius*] in line 6, but see the much later *SB* 22.15581, A.D. 533, where at line 4 the duties of *scriniarius* and *tabularius* are combined.

14-15 *P.Turner* 45.24-25 establish that these lines contain acknowledgements of receipt by the Oxyrhynchite *epimeletai* and that these officials, direct supervisors of grain collection at the nome level, working here

under the *exactor* (line 1; *P.Mich.* 20, pp. 17-18, 28-31), are likely to have had the status designation Aurelius. Of course this could have changed in the twenty-three years that separate *P.Turner* 45, A.D. 374, from *P.Oxy.* 2408, A.D. 397, but see *P.Münch.* 3.99.2 (Hermopolis, A.D. 390; Aurelius Hermodoros, *epimeletes* for the grain of Alexandria); cf. *PSI* 1.87.5-7 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 423; Aurelius Theodosius, *epimeletes* for the cleansing of the Trajanic canal). Ideally Makrobios and Phileas (from line 3) were, respectively, the signatories in lines 14 and 15, but this is not necessarily the case: in *P.Turner* 45, the lone signatory *epimeletes*, Aurelius Serapion, line 24, is not one of the two *epimeletai* named in lines 5-6, but presumably one of their *κοινωνοί*.

The truncated version of the acknowledgement in line 14, as contrasted with the full formula in line 15 (see also next note), raises the question whether line 14 continued in an unrecorded lacuna (a new line 15) on the left side of the papyrus, this despite the wide blank after the writing in the current line 14 stops. There is ample horizontal space; vertical is less certain.

15 {τῇ]ν ἀποχ}: the idea, suggested by one of the anonymous readers, is that the writer began prematurely to write τῇ]ν ἀποχήν. He stopped before completing this (there is no sign of abbreviation after χ) because it was in contradiction of the model provided by the line 14; he did not cancel what now stands as a (not quite full) redundancy in the text.

NOTES ON THREE CAIRO MASPERO PAPYRI (67054, 67057, 67126)

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Abstract. — Corrections to the reading of three documents from the Dioscorus Archive, *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67054, 1.67057, and 2.67126.

P.Cair.Masp. 1.67054

This is a register covering “extraordinary charges and other *syntheiai* [gratuities, Latin *sportulae*] for the *kanon*, 8th indiction,” in two columns, of which the first is the longer, lighter, and better preserved.¹ As common in such registers, there is, from our perspective, confusion about case endings assigned to payees, a hodgepodge of nominatives, genitives, and datives.

In col. 1.7 the payee appears, in Maspero’s typography, as:

Εμβολατορ/ και εϛ[. .]ετρ/

A look at the online image, accessed through www.papyri.info, reveals that the letter Maspero took as *epsilon* after *καί* is a false reading, the confusion owing to the descending tail of the *iota* from εἶρ[ηνικῶν in line 6. Once this distraction is notionally erased, what first remains before the two-letter lacuna is σι, written in two strokes as a monogram, in horseshoe shape facing down, something like Ω but without the serifs; the palaeography is like that in *SB* 14.12116.19, as reread in *ZPE* 193 (2015) 246: σιτο-μ(έτρον), plate on 245. This is followed by a damaged letter that I take to be *tau*. After the lacuna ε looks certain. Accordingly, after *καί*, read σι[ομ]έτρο(ου) – that is, if Maspero is correct (note ad loc.) in treating ἐμβολάτορ(ος) as genitive singular. Otherwise, and probably more correctly, read:

¹ Concise discussion of such payments: T. M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (Ann Arbor 2012) 106-111. I here gratefully acknowledge the *BASP* reader’s perceptive and useful comments.

ἐμβολάτορ(ι) καὶ σιτ[ομ]έτρ(η)

There is no sign that plurals are intended. I take the two terms to refer to one and the same person in a combination previously unattested. In that case, it would have been convenient for an official, who from his title must have been concerned with grain cargoes associated with the *embole*, to double as their measurer.² If, on the contrary, the line refers to two different officials, the connection still remains significant.³

Col. 2.5, in Maspero's typography, records the highest preserved amount in the account, twelve and a half *solidi*, as having been paid to or for:

Δεσποτικ/ προσωτς

Maspero (note ad loc.) suggested interpreting this as “Δεσποτικῶν προσόδ(ων) (?) (= *res privata*)”; but for this the second word requires two orthographical adjustments, *omicron* for *omega*, *delta* for *tau*, and creates an unusual entry in a list that consists almost exclusively of payments made to individuals.⁴ The papyrus is very dark here; nonetheless, I think it is possible to make out: δεσποτικ(ῶν) προσώπ(ων) – that is, again, if Maspero (note ad loc.) is right about case and number. Otherwise, and probably more correctly, read δεσποτικ(οῖς) προσώπ(οις). Neither proposal requires orthographical adjustment, and it is a close call whether or not ω needs to be dotted. It is the amount, more than twice the next highest (6), that suggests resolutions in the plural; but since the account's payments in the vast majority (col. 1.1-8, 10-12, 14, col. 2.1-2, 6-7) are clearly made to individuals in the singular, we cannot rule out:

δεσποτικ(ῶ) προσώπ(ω)

The popularity of the word πρόσωπον (= Latin *persona*) in this time (sixth century) and place (the Antaiopolite nome) is well evidenced in the *P.Cair. Masp.* 1-3 indices. The combination with δεσποτικόν is new to the papyri, apparently indicating a connection with the *domus divina* (G. Azzarello, *Il dossier della domus divina in Egitto* [Berlin 2012]).

² For the *embolator*, “an obscure figure,” see Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State* 109-111. P. Mayerson in his survey of the evidence (“The *Embolator* in Sixth/Seventh-Century Papyri,” *BASP* 46 [2009] 139-143) concludes (143): “On the basis of the above eleven citations, it can be said that the *embolator* had no hand in serving as a collector of the *embole* . . .” I suspect the hand was there; we just can't see it yet.

³ See preceding note.

⁴ Exceptions at cols. 1.9, 13 and 2.3-4, 8.

P.Cair.Masp. 1.67057

This is an account of taxes for the city of Antaiopolis, recently prominent in G. Bransbourg, “Capital in the Sixth Century: The Dynamics of Tax and Estate in Roman Egypt,” *JLA* 9 (2016) 305-414. The text presents two and a half complete columns, registering a wider range of payment types than 67054, but many in cols. 1 (for *annona*) and 2 (for *synetheiai*) still are, as in 67054, payments to government employees. These include the entries in cols. 1.11 and 2.21.

Col. 1.11 is best viewed in combination with the preceding line 10. I reproduce here, in contemporary format, only the identities of the objects of the payments, not the amounts attributed to each:

10 ζώοις δρόμου

11 ὀνητ(αῖς) τοῦ αὐτοῦ

11 ὀνηττττ pap.

Maspero (note ad loc.) rightly treated the double *tau* in line 11 as indicating a plural. He took the resulting word as referring to “farmers [ὀνητᾶι] of this tax,” without specifying what the tax might be. I first assumed that Maspero had mistaken double *tau* for double *lambda* and the correct reading was ὀνηλ(άταις), ονηλ(λ) pap. The sense of the emendation found support from the association of the donkey-drivers with “τοῦ αὐτοῦ,” a back reference to δρόμου in line 10. The two lines therefore recorded payments for animals and donkey-drivers of the *cursus* (sc. *publicus*), for which, see Jones, *Later Roman Empire* 830-834. The same sequence of payments in the same terms, but with greater attendant detail (e.g., the animals are sub-specified as donkeys and camels), could be found in “la table budgétaire d’Antaeopolis,” *SB* 20.14194.30-33, at 30, 32.⁵ Meanwhile, the emendation eliminated the need to see *omicron* as an orthographical slip for *omega*. Nevertheless, the *BASP* reader rightly insisted that Maspero’s double *tau* was correct; there are in fact many palaeographical comparanda, that is, of words abbreviated at τ in 67057 (col. 1.3, 4, 6, etc.). There is no indication, e.g., by superscription of η, that the word was

⁵ Noted by Todd Hickey (email, 3 February 2017). See J. Gascou, *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (Paris 2008) 309-349, with note on these lines on 348.

abbreviated both in its middle and at its end as ὀνη(λά)τ(αις). Therefore the correct reading must be ὀνη<λά>τ(αις), ονηττῖ pap. As the reader points out, this is essentially the same mistake as in *P.Wisc.* 2.47.7: ὀνη<λα>τῶν. It may be worth adding that in 67057, two lines above the present line, there is a word abbreviated with double *tau* that has also suffered an interior loss: Συ<η>νίτ(αις), συνιττῖ pap.

Col. 2.21 records, in Maspero's typography, a payment to:

Εξκ() κ() τη

Here the second *kappa* is not, say, an abbreviation for καί, but, as above (note on 67057 col.1.11), an indication of the plural number, here with the second κ in slight suspension. Read ἐξκ(έπτορσι), ἐξκ^κ/ pap. Following this, based upon the perfectly clear τη, one expects τῆς and reference to the τάξις (*officium*) to which these *exoptores* belonged. Here the space and traces suggest αὐτῆς, probably in reference to the praesidial *officium* specified three lines above (col. 2.18).⁶ This kind of association, after the definite article, is indicated by a symbol (̄) in most of the analogous instances (col. 2.1, 9, 12, 14, 16, 19, 27, 28), but here the word was written in full, as in cols. 1.11 (see preceding note) and 2.9. In sum, despite the faintness of the writing after τη, I am confident enough to suggest:

ἐξκ(έπτορσι) τῆς αὐτῆς

“to the *exoptores* of the same [sc. praesidial *officium*]”

P.Cair.Masp. 2.67126.32

This is the famous loan made out in Constantinople on 7 January 541 to Apollos of Aphrodito and his nephew, Victor the priest. At the start, the contract is framed as a chirograph in both debtors' persons, that is, in the first person plural (line 9), written by Victor in his own and Apollos's behalf. The formulaic “having been asked, we have agreed” begins shortly into line 29:⁷

⁶ “Probably,” because of the damage to the intervening lines 19-20.

⁷ I emend the treatment of final upsilons in the DDBDP transcription. They are not within abbreviation but appear as slightly wavy horizontal strokes in suspension.

- 29 . . . καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντ[ε]ς παρὰ σοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπων
 30 [ὁμολογή]σαμέν σοι γράψαντες τὸ πρ[ο]κεί[μ]ενον ιδιόχειρον
 31 [γραμματίο]ν τῶν εἴκοσι τοῦ κεφαλαίου νομισμάτων διὰ χειρ[ῶν]
 σοῦ]
 32 [εἰς χεῖρα]ς ἡμῶν Ἀπολλ[ῶ]τος, ἐν ᾧ κάτω Β[ί]κτωρ κατυπέγραψα
 (sic)
 33 . . .

29 σο^b pap., read πρόσωπων 31 κεφαλαιο^b pap., [σο^b pap.?] 32 read καθυπέγραψα

Maspero in his *Addenda et Corrigenda* to *P.Cair.Masp.* 2, p. 197, rejected C. Wessely's proposal to read *κᾶγώ* in line 32, instead of *κάτω*, on two grounds. First, the form of the disputed letter favors *tau*. Second, since only one of the two debtors subscribes to the loan, *κᾶγώ* makes no sense. That presumably, and not the *tau*-for-*theta* substitution, is what lies behind the "(sic)" in Maspero's transcription after *κατυπέγραψα*. If he is right, however, there remains, not a mere redundancy, but a near triplication of sense that forces translating the relevant phrase as: "on which *below* (*κάτω*), I, Victor, have *below* subscribed (*κατυπ-*)."

Despite the frequency of *γ* and *τ* as lookalike letters in different ligatured forms, it seems to me that the online images here favor Wessely's *γ* over Maspero's *τ*. Contrast the *κατ* combination, with precise upright *τ*, in *κατυπέγραψα* against the same supposed combination, with split and slanted *τ*, in *κάτω*. Unfortunately, there is no mark for crasis above *α*, which would have provided a conclusive indication. Nevertheless, when the subscribing announced in the first person singular in line 32 actually begins at line 43, it is in Victor's first person singular formulation (*ὁμολογῶ*, line 44), not "and" (*καί*) but "with Apollos" (*ἅμα Ἀπολλῶτι*, line 45). The sense in and before line 32 must therefore be something like: "we both (Apollos and Victor) have written this chirograph of debt [strictly speaking, untrue – Victor alone is the writer], on which I (Victor) am also the one who has subscribed below (sc. for myself and Apollos)." In other words, the two are co-debtors, but Victor is the sole subscriber, his subscription eventually spanning lines 43-57, an effort perhaps beyond Apollos's ability to duplicate with comfort.⁸ Accordingly, Victor's only slip at line 32 was

⁸ Samples of his Greek writing tend to come in small snatches, e.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67052.10, 3.67300.20-21, *P.Mich.* 13.659.305-307, *P.Thomas* 28.27-28, and *P.Vatic. Aphrod.* 7.32-33.

the substitution of τ for θ in his verb form. For the phrase itself, see now *P.Petra* 3.23.15 (ἐν [ῥ̃] καὶ γὰρ καθυπέγραψα, with note ad loc.), copied, or vice versa, at 24.5 (ἐν ῥ̃ κ[ῶ] γὰρ καθ[υπέγ]ραψα). It looks, after all, like Wessely was right about this.

NOTES ON PAPYRI

PSI 12.1230

In PSI 12.1230, an application from Oxyrhynchus for the *epikrisis* of Melas, a κοπριαναίρετος slave turning 13 (on inclusive reckoning), the owner is made to state the following about the slave and himself (lines 7-14):

δῆλ(ῶ)
αὐτ(ὸν) εἶναι (δωδεκάδραχμον), καὶ με̐ ὁμοί(ως)
νυνεῖ μὲν εἶναι ἐκτὸς
10 συνόψεως διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ ξη-
νῇ (l. ξένης) εἶναι, τὸ πρὶν ὄντα
(δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀναγρα(φόμενον) διὰ λαογρα(φίας) λβ̐ (ἔτους)
θεοῦ Κομμόδου
ἐπ' ἀ(μφοδου) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ)

The application is from 203, but the year referred to in line 12-13 is 191/2. The passage is translated as follows by Jean Straus:¹

je declare qu'il est "dodécadrachme" et moi aussi, – qui suis maintenant hors de l'estimation parce que je suis à l'étranger, – j'étais auparavant "dodécadrachme," enregistré lors du recensement de la 32^e année du divin Commode, dans le même quartier (de l'avenue du Gymnase)

We are to understand that 191/2 was the last time the applicant paid the poll tax (at the reduced rate of twelve drachmas). Then he supposedly left Oxyrhynchus. What is unclear is where he would be writing this application from or through which intermediary (the top of the application is lost, but the bottom is preserved and does not contain any other information than the date). What is surprising is that the applicant would be stating that he does not pay the poll tax because he is abroad. That sounds unconvincing and seems irregular. If one could avoid paying the poll tax that way,

¹ J. Straus, "L'Égypte gréco-romaine révélée par les papyrus." *L'esclave (Recueil de documents papyrologiques)* (Liège 2004) 9. – I thank Dieter Hagedorn for his comments.

going, or claiming to be, abroad would be far more common than it is. Also, one would not include this detail so openly in the text.

There must be something wrong with the reading in lines 11-12. What the editors read assumes two mistakes: writing *eta* for *epsilon*, not so common in this position,² and leaving out the final *sigma*, unexpected in an otherwise well-written text. Inspection of the image³ shows that the *xi* of ξήνη is problematic. The curved character following *iota* looks more like *sigma*. At the lower end of the curve there is a diagonal, which seems redundant. At any rate, I read ἐπισηινῆ (l. ἐπισινῆ). There is, then, only one mistake (*eta* for *iota*, which is banal).

What the applicant is claiming is that he is not paying the poll tax because he is disabled. Apparently he has been disabled since after 191/2, for a period of at least eleven years. How disability and tax exemption were established and maintained is unclear.⁴ Compare *SB* 6.9105.15-22, a petition from 198 from the Arsinoite nome in which the petitioner, a Roman citizen, a woman, asks that τὸν ... ἐν τῷ πωμαρίῳ μου τρεφόμενον ἐπισινῆ χωλὸν ἀπολελυμένον ἀπάσης ὀχλήσεως καὶ λαογραφίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος δικαιοδοσίαν be left in peace; he had been “shaken down” more than once by a well-known ἀναιδής.

In *PSI* 12.1230 the applicant claims to be ἐκτὸς συνόψεως because of his disability. A σύνοψις is a document that projects future income or expenditure. Here σύνοψις is a list of poll tax payers. There were separate lists of those who did not have to pay the poll tax: Romans, Alexandrians, and “those not in the σύνοψις” (for these three see *CPR* 8.20.6-7 of the third century). In *P.Mich.* 11.603, a contract from 134, nine Arsinoite scribes agree to make copies of tax lists, including (ll. 7-10) ἀντίγραφα λαογραφιῶν [κ]αὶ ἄνδρα καὶ λόγους κατοίκων καὶ ἀπολογισμοὺς ἀφελίκων καὶ ἐκτὸς συνόψεως. The first concerns those paying the poll tax at the full rate; the second, those paying the poll tax at the reduced rate; the third, future poll tax payers; and the fourth, those who do not pay the poll tax.

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² Gignac, *Gram.* 1.246.

³ At <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;12;1230>.

⁴ See the note on *P.Oxy.Census* 220.

*The Earliest Papyrological Attestation of the Emperor Decius*¹

It is a well-known fact that the Greek papyri from Roman Egypt present all kinds of historical information that is not known from other sources (ancient literature, inscriptions). The usefulness of Greek papyri from Roman Egypt for chronological purposes was illustrated ca. 100 years ago by Franz Hohmann in a now out-of-date study.² Two more recent studies are now available for further historical work.³

A welcome example of interesting chronological information is *BGU* 19.2833, published in 2005, where we read in l. 1: Ἔτους πρώτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Μεσσίου Κυ[ί]ντου Δεκίου εὐσεβ[ο]ῦς εὐτυχ[ο]ῦς Σεβ[α]στοῦ μηνὸς Ἀπ[ε]λλαίου 1-2] Φ[α]ῶφι [1-2 ἐ]γ[γ]ραφ[ή] ἡμερῶν πόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ ἀρχαί[α] καὶ σεμνοτάτῃ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ. This line contains a date in the first regnal year of the emperor Decius which is equated with the year 249/250 CE.

There is now a very long list of secondary literature discussing the short reign of the emperor Decius. The essential data (including some bibliography) are given by D. Kienast,⁴ who reconstructs the following sequence of events connected with Decius' reign:

- Juni (?) 249: Ausrufung zum Imperator in Pannonien
- Herbst 249: Adventus in Rom
- Sept./Okt. 249: Annahme des Kaisertitels Imp. C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius P.F.Inv.Aug., Pontifex Max., Pater Patriae, Proconsul
- Ende 249: Religionsedikt
- 250-251: Krieg gegen die Goten auf dem Balkan
- 1. Hälfte Juni 251: Gestorben in Rom zwischen 9. und 24. Juni

The rest of the story about the life of Decius will not detain us here.

On the Berlin papyrus quoted above the mention of Decius' first year is accompanied by a mention of the Egyptian month name Phaophi, covering the period 28 Sept.-27 Oct. in our calendar. But the precise day date is

¹ I am very grateful to Ms. A. Leeman-Koppus MA. An intensive correspondence and oral discussion with her inspired me to write this note on an aspect of the reign of the emperor Decius. Of course, she is not to be held responsible for any of the views expressed in this contribution.

² F. Hohmann, *Zur Chronologie der Papyrusurkunden. Römische Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1911).

³ First of all D.W. Rathbone, "The Dates of the Recognition in Egypt of the Emperors from Caracalla to Diocletianus," *ZPE* 62 (1986) 101-131; see also R.P. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (Cambridge 1990), esp. 5-29.

⁴ See his *Römische Kaisertabelle*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt 1996; 6th ed. forthcoming June 2017) 204-205.

not preserved. This Egyptian month is equated with the Macedonian month Apellaios.⁵ The day date in Apellaios is also lost, and there is no way to reconstruct the numeral.

Now, in Egypt a Roman emperor's regnal year ran parallel with the Egyptian civil year in the solar calendar. In principle, his first regnal year ran from the day of his ascension to the throne until the first of Thoth (= Aug. 29) after that ascension. An emperor's full regnal years would be counted in Egypt from his second year from then on. It is good to keep in mind that in the Egyptian calendar Thoth preceded Phaophi. The precise ascension day date of Decius in Rome in 249 is unknown, but it can be approximated on the basis of the following arguments:

A. The *DDBDP* produces the following list of texts from the summer and fall of 249 dated by a regnal year of the Philippi, who immediately preceded Decius:

- P.Oxy.* 12.1444, harvest of year 6, July-Aug. 28, 249, Oxy.
- P.Flor.* 1.90, dated by regnal year 6, Mesore 13 = Aug. 6, 249, Ars.(?)
- SB* 5.7696, dated by regnal year 6, Mesore 30 = Aug. 23, 249, Ars.
- SB* 5.7634.48-52, dated by regnal year 6, Mesore Epagomenai 5 = Aug. 28, 249, Oxy.
- O.Bodl.* 2.1122, dated by regnal 7, Thoth 13 = Sept. 10, 249, Thebes
- ChLA* 11.486, dated by regnal year 7, Thoth 18 = Sept. 15, 249, Antin.
- P.Harris* 1.80, dated by regnal year 7, Thoth 25 = Sept. 22, 249, Oxy.
- PSI* 5.464, dated by an anonymous regnal year 7, Thoth 20+(?) = Sept. 17(?), 249, Herm.

The last certain dating by the Philippi is found in *P.Harris* 1.80: Sept. 22, 249. Apparently, these emperors were still recognized in Middle Egypt (Oxy.) by that date.

B. On the other hand, one finds in the papyrus quoted above, *BGU* 19.2833 (from Hermopolis, just to the south of Oxyrhynchus), a dating by Decius' year 1, Phaophi-Apellaios = Sept. 28-Oct. 27, 249. The difference between Sept. 22, 249 (*P.Harris* 1.80) and Sept. 28, 249, is only six days. It may be assumed that the news of a change of emperor in Rome arrived in Middle Egypt at a considerable interval. People in Oxyrhynchus may have kept dating by the Philippi, when in Rome the latter had already been succeeded by Decius.

⁵ For this equation in Roman Egypt, see U. Hagedorn, "Beobachtungen zum Gebrauch makedonischer Monatsnamen in römischer Zeit." in *Pap.Congr.XIV*, pp. 127-132.

Other Greek papyri from Egypt dated by Decius' first year are (in chronological order): *SB* 24.16254 (Nov. 15, 249, Oxy.) and *BGU* 3.937 (Febr. 14, 250, Heracl.).

BGU 19.2833 is the earliest Greek papyrus dated by Decius' first year.

C. The news of Decius' ascension to the throne in Rome may have arrived in Alexandria already in (early?) Thoth (= Aug. 29-Sept. 27, 249); see below sub F. At any rate it would have arrived in Alexandria before it was used for dating purposes in Hermopolis by (early?) Phaophi. One cannot use the first year of an emperor for dating purposes in Egypt, unless that emperor is firmly established on the throne.

D. The length of the trip from Rome to Alexandria according to Rathbone ([n.2] 102) was 20-25 days, while he estimates the length of the trip from Alexandria to Hermopolis as ca. 12-15 days.

Rathbone (n. 2) 112 states: "The earliest Egyptian dating by Decius is in P.Oxy. XIV 1636.39-41, dated year 1, Choiak 1 = 27th November 249. This implies that he was recognized in the Arsinoite by c. 26th November 249. The Philippi must still have been recognized in the Arsinoite on c. 18th September 249." Rathbone adds the observation: "Cod. Just. 10.16.3 gives the earliest Italian dating by Decius of 16th October 249; even if reliable, it is not much help." By 2005 when the *BGU* papyrus was published all this changed. Unfortunately, the editor did not comment on the chronological implications of the text he edited.

E. Furthermore, we now have "The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World."⁶ This model calculates that 20.9 days were needed to cover the distance (ca. 2844 km) from Roma to Hermopolis Magna. 20.9 may give the impression of exaggerated precision. Something like ca. 21 days or ca. 3 weeks may be sufficient.

F. Assuming ca. 21 days = 3 weeks for news to travel from Rome to Hermopolis, the earliest possible Egyptian dating by Decius' year 1 in Hermopolis, Phaophi [1] (= Sept. 28, 249), would imply that Decius ascended the throne in Rome not much more than ca. 3 weeks earlier. In Egypt Decius' first regnal year started on Thoth 1 = Aug. 29, 249. There may have been a (short?) interval between what transpired in Rome (the death of Philippus followed by the ascension of Decius) and

⁶ It may be consulted on the website orbis.stanford.edu.

in Egypt. Compare the regnal years of the emperor Hadrian, who actually ascended the throne on August 11, 117, but whose first regnal year started in Egypt (normally) on Thoth 1 (= August 29), 117. For purely practical reasons the period August 11-29 was “added” to the emperor’s first regnal year.

The result of all this is that Decius *may* have ascended the throne in Rome effectively by mid-August 249, while news about this arrived in Egypt in some places (Hermopolis) with remarkable speed, while in other places (cf. the dating by year 7 of the Philippi) a (substantial?) delay occurred.⁷

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⁷ On Decius’ edict (against the Christians?), see now P. Schubert, “On the Form and Content of the Certificates of Pagan Sacrifice,” *JRS* 106 (2016) 172-198. To the bibliography given there may be added: G. Schoenaich, *Die Libelli und ihre Bedeutung für die Christenverfolgung des Kaisers Decius* (Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht des königl. Friedrichs-Gymnasiums zu Breslau für 1910); U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge* (Leipzig 1912) 130 and *Chrestomathie* nos. 124-125; A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 4th ed. (Tübingen 1925) 35, n. 4; A. Bludau, *Die ägyptischen Libelli und die Christenverfolgung des Kaisers Decius* (Freiburg 1931); H.I. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Liverpool 1953) 85. The *libelli* have generally been interpreted in the context of the edict of Decius. They are dated between May 26 and July 14, 250 (see Schubert, pp. 181-182). Decius promulgated his edict some time between his ascension to the throne, late summer 249, and the end of May, 250. There is no way of knowing how soon after his ascension to the throne or how much time was needed to implement the imperial decree in every corner of the Roman empire. At least a few weeks or even months were needed for the implementation. It seems possible that Dionysius (*apud* Eusebius, *Hist.Eccl.* 6.41.1) misrepresented the chronology of the edict’s promulgation by equating “a year after the start of the persecutions” with “a year after the start of Decius’ reign.”

CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM EGYPT AND NUBIA 4 (2016)

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Abstract. — Fourth installment of an annual overview of published inscriptions in Greek and Coptic from Christian Egypt and Nubia.

The fourth issue of our epigraphical bulletin on Christian Egypt and Nubia covers the inscriptions published in 2016. The reader may note the unusually high number of items with earlier publication dates: three from 2013 (1, 49, 51), five from 2014 (2, 6, 53, 54, 56), and eleven from 2015 (4, 7, 8, 14, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64). Some of these came to our attention or appeared too late to be included in the previous bulletin, others, especially the older ones, we missed, despite our efforts to be complete. We would therefore like to reiterate the plea that we made to our colleagues in the introduction to *CIE* 1 to kindly keep us informed of their publications, in particular when they appear in less accessible venues or fall outside our normal scope.

1. Egypt. Greek and Coptic funerary stelae. A. Muc, *Śmierć i pogrzeb w chrześcijańskim Egipcie (IV-VIII w.). Studium na podstawie źródeł literackich i archeologicznych* [“Death and Burial in Christian Egypt (Fourth-Eighth Centuries). A Study on the Basis of Literary and Archaeological Sources”] (Cracow 2013). A general survey, based on (mostly older) literature (English summary: pp. 371-374). Chapter 3 (135-307) deals with archaeological sources, including tombstones. Section 1.1 discusses the textual elements of Greek and Coptic epitaphs (135-141: information about the deceased, epithets, dates, brief formulae, prayers, appeals to the living, cryptograms), the genre of the funeral laments (144-147), and the portrayal of death (147-151: as verdict, relief, sleep, a journey). Section 1.2 (152-188) deals with the decoration of the stones and its symbolism. Later sections review major archaeological sites, the situation of tombs and cemeteries, architectural types, and tomb equipment (including wooden labels: 261-267).

2. Egypt. Coptic graffiti. S. Bucking, “Now You See It, Now You Don’t: The Dynamics of Archaeological and Epigraphic Landscapes from Coptic Egypt,” in M.T. Rutz, M.M. Kersel (eds.), *Archaeologies of Text: Archaeology, Technology, and Ethics* (Oxford 2014) 59-79. Methodological reflections on the value of situating Coptic graffiti within their archaeological context, which is divided into three aspects: spatial context (where on the wall the graffito is found), structural (architectural) context, and relational context (the relations between graffiti, such as figures and texts). All three aspects are illustrated by examples from Beni Hasan, Abydos and the monastery of Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahari, based on the author’s on-site observations in 2009. The examples mostly refer to published texts, though some new graffiti are also mentioned, such as the one from Tomb 23 at Beni Hasan (p. 69; Fig. 4.8), which depicts Daniel (identified by an inscription) in the lion’s den, a nice illustration of the combination of figure and text.

3. Egypt. Armenian inscriptions. M. Kupelian, “Notes on the Armenians and the Coptic Heritage,” in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, vol. 2 (Leuven 2016) 1623-1639. After a short history of the Armenian community in Egypt, the author presents some Armenian inscriptions in Egyptian churches, in particular the White Monastery (published in T’. Kušakian, “Hayerēn Arjanagrut’iwnner Verin Egiptosi Łbti Vank’i Mě Měj” [“Armenian Inscriptions in a Coptic Monastery of Upper Egypt”], *T’ēodik. Amēnun Tarets’oyts’ē* [1923] 374-380), the monastery of St. Anthony, and Deir el-Baramus.

In the White Monastery, which was transferred to the Armenians between 1076 and 1094, in the central apse of the church on both sides of Christ in the eastern semi-dome, an Armenian inscription reads *Hisus Kristos* and other inscriptions mention members of the Armenian community. The largest one was written by Theodoros, “painter and scribe,” who asks God “to bless him and you and all the Armenians that are (held) in slavery in Egypt.” It was “completed during the patriarchate of Father Grigor” who was the first *katholikos* of the Armenian community in Egypt (1075-1117). In the monastery of St. Anthony near the Red Sea, Armenian graffiti can be found in the Deesis chapel of the church, some of which contain the liturgical acclamation *Sourp Sourp Sourp Aswadz* “Holy, holy, holy Lord.” In the Wadi el-Natrun one graffito left by a pilgrim named Simon was written in the nave of the church of the Virgin

at Deir el-Baramus. Finally, the author mentions the representation of St. Gregory the Armenian (ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ ΠΙΕΡΜΕΝΙΟΣ), who is depicted in the *khurus* of the church of the Virgin at Deir el-Surian, also in the Wadi el-Natrun (cf. K. Innemée, “The Wall Paintings of Deir al-Surian: New Discoveries of 1999,” *Hugoye* 2 [1999] 172). As for the Armenian monastery of Wadi el-Natrun, excavations have just started, as part of the Yale Monastic Archaeology Project.

4. Egypt. Anatolian saints in inscriptions on lamps. P. Nowakowski, “The So-Called Anatolian Saints in Egypt. The Egyptian and Anatolian Patterns of Selective Transmission of Cult,” *JJP* 45 (2015) 121-144. Study of the cults of Anatolian saints in Egypt and comparison with their cults attested in Asia Minor. The sources for Egypt are mainly papyri and inscriptions, most of them written on lamps. In all cases but one the texts follow the type τοῦ ἁγίου δεῖνος (the one exception has the nominative, ἡ ἁγία ἄμα Ἰουλίττα) and they often mention saints that are not known from other texts. These lamps seem to be an Egyptian innovation and their possible function is discussed.

5. Egypt. The title *topoteretes* in papyri and inscriptions. A. Jesenko, “Die *topoteretai* im spätantiken und früh-arabischen Ägypten,” in T. Derda, A. Łajtar, J. Urbanik (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, vol. 3 (Warsaw 2016) 1801-1823. Study of the function of *topoteretes* in Egyptian sources between the fifth and eighth centuries. Most of the evidence consists of papyri, but the author also mentions four Greek inscriptions which are discussed at pp. 1802-1804 and probably all refer to the *topoteretes* of the southern Egyptian *limes*.

6. Abu Mina. A drawing and two Greek graffiti, 2nd half of 6th cent. (?). *Ed. princ.* C. Römer, “Graffiti from Abu Mena,” *BSAC* 53 (2014) 137-146. Edition of a drawing and two Greek graffiti found in a villa located close to the north-west gate of the town. The building is archaeologically dated to the second half of the sixth century. The graffiti were discovered in 1987/1988 (cf. M.A. Negm, “Recent Discoveries at Abu Mina,” *BSAC* 32 [1993] 129-130) and reexamined by the author in 2014. They were written on the wall of an entrance leading from the courtyard into a stairwell, in the north part of the complex, opposite the church.

The drawing represents the biblical scene (hardly visible on Fig. 3) of Jesus sleeping in a boat on Lake Genezareth (Matt. 8:23-27; Mark 4:37-41;

Luke 8:22-25). The scene is quite similar to the one of *PSI* 8.920 (sixth century). The author suggests that it “may be a sketch for a later *affresco* or mosaic.” The two graffiti are to the left of the drawing. The best preserved one contains five lines of text written in muddled Greek. The text starts (ll. 1-2) with an invocation of the Lord as father of widows and orphans: ὁ π(ατ)ὲρ κηρῶν κὲ ὀρφανῶ<v>, that is, ὁ πατὴρ κηρῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν. The editor then reads ll. 2-3 as κε πομηα | δεινᾶεχωντω, which she understands as κὲ ποίμην δεινὰ ἐχόντων. If so, however, the π would be strangely shaped, the α in l. 2 looks rather like a δ, and the sequence δεινᾶ is doubtful. We propose to read κὲ τῶ<v> μηδὶ{δ} ἐν ἐχόντω<v>, and to understand ll. 1-3 to mean “the father of widows and orphans and those who have nothing,” which recalls Ignatius’ *Letter to Polycarp* 6.1, quoted in the commentary, τῆς χήρας ἢ τοῦ ὀρφανοῦ ἢ πένητος. The text that follows asks the Lord to become the redeemer of orphans and sinners (ll. 3-5). The last line is problematic and is edited as τολῶ (the end of ἁμαρτολῶν) πασσαναγνωκμαγειπηγενυτο, in which it is only possible to make out γένοιτο at the end of the line. Above this graffito, another inscription (now lost) is practically incomprehensible: the editor reads δυνη . αβγεπ . τ κε γη . . εδυνητησε μετ ημων (interpreted as δυνη καὶ γη . . ἐδυνήθης . μεθ’ ἡμῶν). It is unclear whether this text belongs with the five lines below.

Underneath the biblical scene and the inscriptions, there are some traces of writing, of which only a few letters can be read, as well as the drawing of a stick figure. On the basis of its low position on the wall (ca. 1 m above ground) and the crude execution, the editor entertains the possibility that the latter figure “could have been scribbled here by a child.” However, such stick-men are extremely common in this time period (see J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Syene I. The Textual and Figural Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan* [Darmstadt/Mainz 2012] 64, with further references), nor does the height necessarily indicate that a child made the drawing (cf., e.g., Dijkstra, *Syene I*, 36-37, 112).

7. Wadi el-Natrun (monastery of John the Little). Coptic *dipinto* with prayer to Shenoute, 10th. cent. *Ed. princ.* S.J. Davis, “Shenoute in Scetis: New Archaeological Evidence for the Cult of a Monastic Saint in Early Medieval Wādī al-Naṭrūn,” *Coptica* 14 (2015) 1-19. Among the *dipinti* discovered in Residence B of the monastery of John the Little by a Yale team, is a *dipinto* (no. 8) written in black ink on the northern wall of room 3, which probably functioned as an oratory. The Bohairic text (pp. 4-5; Fig. 2) consists of five lines and is a prayer to Abba Shenoute

of a certain $\overline{\pi\acute{\iota}\iota\omega\ \acute{\nu}\tau\epsilon\pi}$ “Papa Io, from Tep (?)” (ll. 4-5; note the slightly different transcription from the *ed. princ.*, which has $\overline{\pi\acute{\iota}\iota\omega\ \acute{\nu}\tau\epsilon\pi}$; in l. 1 read $\overline{\pi\alpha\delta\epsilon\ \acute{\nu}\iota\omega\tau}$ instead of $[\pi]\overline{\alpha\delta\epsilon\ \acute{\nu}\iota\omega\tau}$). It is dated to the tenth century on the basis of a similar text on the same wall (no. 7). The *dipinto* is then placed in the wider context of the veneration of Shenoute in the Wadi el-Natrun, which seems to have been especially thriving in the ninth-tenth centuries.

8. Middle and Upper Egypt. Coptic litanies. M. Choat, “Narratives of Monastic Genealogy in Coptic Inscriptions,” *Religion in the Roman Empire* 1 (2015) 403-430. This fine study proposes an interpretation of the Coptic inscriptions of the so-called litany-type along the lines of memory studies. The “litanies” are commemorative texts that invoke, in addition to the Holy Trinity, varying series of Old and New Testament saints as well as regional and local monastic saints. They are found on funerary stelae and in mural *dipinti* at quite a number of sites in Middle and Upper Egypt, with notable concentrations in Saqqara (the monastery of Jeremiah), the Bawit region, and Esna. Beyond the mere commemoration of particular members of a monastic community, they situate the community within a spiritual lineage that may hark back, via a local monastic genealogy, to Adam and Eve. Thus they offer scripts for the maintenance of the collective memory of these communities. Interestingly, as famous names such as those of Sts. Anthony, Pachomius, or Shenoute are hardly ever found in the texts, the litanies appear to be witnesses to local traditions that occupy a marginal position within the grand narrative of Egyptian monasticism.

9. Saqqara or Bawit. Coptic funerary stela, 7th-9th cent. *Ed. princ.* L. Blumell, E.O. Yingling, “A New Coptic Epitaph from the Petrie Museum,” *BASP* 53 (2016) 223-232. Edition of a fragmentary Coptic epitaph kept in the Petrie Museum (inv. UC 16852). The text is written on a limestone slab (39 × 30 × 4 cm) on which sixteen lines of writing are preserved. Lines are scored on the entire surface of the stone at a height of ca. 1.6 cm. There are also vertical lines in the left and right margins. Traces of red ink are still visible in the inscribed letters. At the bottom of the slab a band of guilloche is engraved. There is a diagonal break in the stone from the bottom left corner to the top right corner, resulting in a significant loss of text. In the first preserved lines only a few letters can be read, which could be the first lines of the text. Towards the bottom, the amount of text gradually increases, with the last line (l. 16) completely preserved.

In ll. 1-12 the epitaph invokes a litany of saints, many of whom are attested in the inscriptions of the monasteries of Saqqara and Bawit (see in general on this type of inscription, the study discussed at 8 above), such as “Apa Macarius with his sons, Apa Moses with all his brethren” (ll. 3-5) or “our fathers the martyrs Apa Victor, Apa Phoibamon, Apa Menas, Apa George, Apa Cyriacus, Apa Philotheus” (ll. 5-8). As for Apa Hor and Apa Pshoi (ll. 8-9), the editors indicate in the commentary that they are not attested in epitaphs from Bawit, but the saints are mentioned in a litany written on a wall of the monastery (J. Maspero, É. Drioton, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouît*, vol. 1 [Cairo 1931] 137 [no. 477.6]). The litany ends with “all the saints who did the will of God” (ll. 11-12). The text then asks for remembrance (ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ν-) of Papa John, from Sinnuris in the Faiyum (ll. 12-14). The epitaph closes with the formula ΝΤΑϞΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟϞ “he went to his rest” (l. 14) and the dating formula (ll. 14-15; in the middle of which appear three crosses “fourchées”), followed by ϞΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ϞΑΜΗΝ ϞΘ “In the peace of God. Amen, amen” (ll. 15-16). After the end of the text, there are five scored lines without writing.

10. el-Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus). Amphora neck with Greek *diplinto*, 5th-6th cent. *Ed. princ.* A. Nodar, “Two New Texts from Oxyrhynchus: Archaeology and Papyrology on the Site,” in T. Derda, A. Łajtar, J. Urbanik (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, vol. 3 (Warsaw 2016) 1483-1491. Edition of two texts found in 2002 by the Spanish excavators in the so-called “funerary house” in the Upper Necropolis of Oxyrhynchus, of which only the first is relevant here (pp. 1484-1487 [no. 1]). It concerns an amphora neck with *diplinto* dated to the fifth-sixth centuries. The first line contains the acronym χμ[γ] and the isopsephism Ϟθ for ἀμήν, the second the formula Θεοῦ χάρις “grace of God.” The third line probably also contains isopsephisms, though the reading is not entirely clear. The fragment then breaks off, but would have continued with a name in the genitive, an indication of the quality of the wine and metrological information.

11. el-Sheikh ‘Ibada (Antinoopolis). Inscribed objects, 5th-8th cent. G. Menci, “Oggetti iscritti appartenenti alla collezione dell’Istituto Papirologico ‘G. Vitelli,’” in T. Derda, A. Łajtar, J. Urbanik (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, vol. 3 (Warsaw 2016) 1519-1531, draws attention to several inscribed objects from the collection of the Papyrological Institute “G. Vitelli” in Florence, of which only those

from Antinoopolis are relevant here. Among the unpublished texts are a sixth-century amphora neck with the formula Θεοῦ χάρις κέρδος “gain (is) a grace of God” followed by the name of the church or monastery, ἁγίο(υ) Θεοδώρ(ου) (inv. 573; Fig. 3) and two lamps, the one (seventh-eighth centuries) containing the name Apa Kosma (inv. 1556; Fig. 4) and the other (fifth-seventh centuries) a monogram consisting of the letters αβρμ, perhaps the name Ἀβραάμ (inv. 813; Fig. 5).

12. Bawit. Coptic inscriptions, 7th-10th cent. F. Calament, “L’apport des nouvelles découvertes épigraphiques à Baouît (2006-2012),” in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, vol. 1 (Leuven, 2016) 659-668, discusses the contribution of inscriptions recently found by the joint mission of the Musée du Louvre and the Institut français d’archéologie orientale to the history of the site. In the so-called “North Church” inscriptions beginning with an invocation to “the God of the Archangel Michael” (one of them shown on Pl. 1) indicate that it was dedicated to this archangel. The church was probably abandoned in the tenth century as appears from the tombs found outside the church, which indicate that it was partly covered in sand, and two epitaphs engraved on the outside wall, one of which is dated to the first half of the tenth century (Hijra year 303, that is, 915/916). The text mentions a place name translated as “Apa Hèlias le chauve (?)”. However, the plate (Pl. 3, l. 4 of the inscription) allows one to read ἀπα ζελιας πσνρος, a saint attested in two inscriptions from the site (J. Maspero, É. Drioton, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouît*, vol. 1 [Cairo 1931] 129 [no. 448.3: ἀπζε[λι]ας ψγρος] and 132 [no. 452.12: ἀπα ζ[ηλια]ς πσγρος]), “Apa Elijah the Syrian.”

In the so-called “South Church” a *dipinto* shows that the church was still in use at the end of the tenth century. The author states that it dates to Hijra year 373 (983/984) but on Pl. 4 (l. 8 of the text) one can read the number as ροε, 375 (985/986). On the south wall of “Church D,” which was rebuilt with mudbricks and reused blocks, nine inscriptions were painted in red ink and they date more or less to the same period (one is dated to 625, five to 632). On the basis of these data, the renovation of the church, probably partly destroyed by an earthquake, can be dated to the second quarter of the seventh century and the delay in the repair works explained by the troubles due to the Persian occupation of Egypt (619-629). As for the date of abandonment of the building, two inscriptions provide a *terminus post quem*. One reused stela in the pavement of

the church mentions an “Apa Daniel, father of the *topos*” (see *CIEN* 3.13) who is known from papyri dating to the beginning of the eighth century. A long epitaph for Hor and his wife, apparently dated to 814 and quoting several biblical passages, including Jer. 17:8, was also reused in the pavement.

13. Manqabad. Coptic funerary stelae. R. Pirelli, P. Buzi, with contributions by R. Giunta, E. Salib, V. Mastromanno, “The Coptic Site of Manqabad: An Italian-Egyptian Project,” in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, vol. 2 (Leuven 2016) 1433-1446. Presentation of the first results of the Italian-Egyptian project on the site of Manqabad. Based on unpublished reports of previous excavations and photographs, the discovery of Coptic funerary stelae is mentioned at p. 1439. The stelae were reused as pavement slabs in one of the rooms of the complex. Of the two epitaphs reproduced at Fig. 9, the left one begins with an invocation of the Trinity (ll. 1-3), the (Archangel) Michael, “our mother Mary,” Apa Jeremiah, Apa Enoch, and “our mother Sibylla” (ll. 3-8; the last three saints forming the Saqqara triad). The name of the deceased follows (Ioseph, l. 8), and then the formula $\alpha\mu\tau\omicron\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ “he went to his rest” (ll. 8-9) and the date (ll. 9-11). The text ends with $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ “In peace. Amen” (ll. 11-12). The one on the right (shown upside down) is similar, except that in the invocation Mary is mentioned after Enoch and the names of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel are written at the end of the text and not in the litany at the beginning. The last line is damaged. The inscriptions can be compared with the inscriptions from a necropolis north of Manqabad excavated by Ahmad Bey Kamal at the beginning of the twentieth century (*SB Kopt.* 1.482, 721, 723-724) and those found in 1976 (*SB Kopt.* 4.1958-1962). On pp. 1439-1440 (Fig. 10), two Arabic inscriptions in Kufic script painted in two rooms of the site and dated to the second half of the ninth century are briefly mentioned.

14. Upper Egypt. Two Coptic funerary stelae. S. Schaten, “Koptische Grabsteine,” in A. Felgenhauer (ed.), *Aus Gräbern, Heiligtümern und Siedlungen. Die altägyptische Sammlung des Übersee-Museums Bremen* (Mainz 2015) 167-168 (nos. 276-277). Two funerary stelae from the Egyptian collection of the Übersee-Museum, Bremen. One has no text preserved, but shows the sculptured figure of a female *orans* in a niche. The second bears a Coptic epitaph on top of a sculpted cross surrounded by decorative motifs. The text, for a certain Apa Victor junior, exhibits the characteristic opening formula “peace (be) to this holy mountain,” which occurs at

various sites in southern Upper Egypt (see B. Tudor, *Christian Funerary Stelae of the Byzantine and Arab Periods from Egypt* [Marburg 2011] 177-178). No text is given.

15. Sohag. Prosopography of Red and White Monasteries, 5th-14th cent. P. Dilley, "Inscribed Identities: Prosopography of the Red and White Monasteries in the Early Byzantine and Medieval Periods," in E. Bolman (ed.), *The Red Monastery Church: Beauty and Asceticism in Upper Egypt* (New Haven 2016) 217-229. A prosopography of ca. 103 individuals from the Shenoutean federation compiled on the basis of non-literary texts (inscriptions, papyri, colophons), that is, excluding Shenoute's works, which still await a definitive edition. After an introduction, with some remarks about onomastics, titles, and affiliations/places, the catalogue follows, which is arranged alphabetically and divided into two parts, the first containing persons likely belonging to the federation and the second listing those outsiders somehow connected to it.

16. Sohag (Red Monastery). Greek and Coptic *dipinti*, 5th-7th cent. P. Dilley, "Textual Aesthetics. *Dipinti* and the Early Byzantine Epigraphic Habit," in E. Bolman (ed.), *The Red Monastery Church: Beauty and Asceticism in Upper Egypt* (New Haven 2016) 175-181, emphasizes the close connection between writing and visual culture in Late Antique monasticism (the "textual aesthetics" of the title) and introduces the 110 *dipinti* from the Red Monastery (edited in Appendix 1, see **17-42** below), dividing them into texts belonging to the iconographical program (legends and biblical texts) and those that strictly speaking fall outside of that purview (texts left by donors, painters and other community members).

17-42. Sohag (Red Monastery). Greek and Coptic *dipinti*, 5th-14th cent. *Ed. princ.* P. Dilley, "Appendix 1: The Greek and Coptic Inscriptions in the Red Monastery Church," in E. Bolman (ed.), *The Red Monastery Church: Beauty and Asceticism in Upper Egypt* (New Haven 2016) 288-300. Edition of 110 *dipinti* (note that at p. 175, the author speaks of "nearly one hundred extant inscriptions") from the Red Monastery church. Those from the northern lobe had already been published by the author as "*Dipinti* in Late Antiquity and Shenoute's Monastic Federation: Text and Image in the Paintings of the Red Monastery," *ZPE* 165 (2008) 111-128, and are included here again (though with some minor changes, which are not always for the better, see below). He had at his disposal preliminary transcriptions made by J. van der Vliet (and his students) in the 1990s, which are sometimes referred to.

As set out in the chapter discussed above (16), the material consists of legends and biblical citations accompanying paintings, dedicatory inscriptions, painter's signatures and visitors' inscriptions. In the appendix, some remarks are added about the palaeography of the *dipinti*. The largest group, the legends and citations, seems to date mostly to the sixth century, which is in agreement with the presumed date of the third and fourth phase of painting to which they belong (p. xxx; cf. Dilley, "*Dipinti*," 117, where these phases are still dated to the seventh/eighth century, with his remarks at pp. 123-124 about a sixth-century date on the basis of palaeography). Only a small group of nine legends with names of apostles is found on the first phase of painting, dated to the end of the fifth century (T.e.III.i-3 [32], 7 [33], 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14), and two legends on the second phase of painting, dated to the first quarter of the sixth century (T.e.IV.i-1 [34], T.e.IV.i-2 [35]). The latest texts are a group of four *dipinti* left by the painter Merkouri in the early fourteenth century, going up to 1321/1322 CE (NLR.n.i-1 (40), T.e.I.8.i-1 (31), N.w.i-1, N.w.i-6); a fragmentary text potentially dates a few years later, 1326/1327 (N.w.i-2).

Unfortunately, there are several problems with the edition. First of all, texts with clear Greek elements (e.g. containing the article δ or in the genitive) are transcribed as Coptic (cf. *AE* 2008.1582bis and *SEG* 58.1822, where the Greek is transcribed as Greek). There are also no hyphens at the end of lines to indicate that a word or name continues on the next line. The commentary is very limited and could have included a more extensive discussion about readings and dates of individual texts. Most deplorable, however, is the lack of photographs with the texts. Instead, if a reference to a photo is included at all (e.g. N.w.i-1, N.w.i-2 and N.w.i-6 are not shown on any picture), the reader is referred to the photos spread out over the entire book, which are not meant to record individual inscriptions and are often of a larger part of the wall, making it difficult, if not impossible, to verify readings (e.g. T.s.I.6.i-1 refers to Fig. 8.20 but the picture is too far off to make out anything of the *dipinto*). Where we have been able to check transcriptions, we have noted a large number of errors, a selection of which is presented below. No doubt, however, more corrections can be made on the basis of a collation in the field or better photos and it is to be hoped that a more definitive edition of these important texts will be produced in the not too distant future.

The numbering system, which can be used to locate the *dipinti*, is explained in Appendix 2 (pp. 301-320). For ease of reference, we also include the page on which the text is edited and the accompanying figure.

17. T.n.II.4.i-1; p. 290, Fig. 2.3. *Ed. princ.* Dilley, “*Dipinti*,” 118. Greek legend of a painting of Besa. The *ed. princ.* omits two crosses; these are included in the current edition but an error is introduced in the transcription, which has $\Delta\rho\chi\gamma\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\Delta\rho\iota\tau\omicron\gamma$. The correct text should therefore be + Ἀββα Βησᾶτος + ἀρχημανδρίτου “+ Abba Besa, + archimandrite.”

18. T.n.II.6.i-1; p. 290, Figs. 14, 2.2. *Ed. princ.* Dilley, “*Dipinti*,” 119 (Fig. 3). Greek legend of a painting of Shenoute. The *ed. princ.* omits the cross before the name. It is added in the present edition but both editions leave out the *diaeresis* over the ι in Σενουθίου. Moreover, in his title there are spaces before ἀρ- and at the end of the word before ρ, which are obliterated by a long vertical crack going over the entire painting. In the first space, there would no doubt have been a cross, as in the preceding *dipinto* (17), which is located beside it; before the ρ would have been a δ. There is also an abbreviation mark going through the vertical of the ρ (the *ed. princ.* treats this as an abbreviation mark and has $\Delta\rho\chi\eta\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha(\Delta\rho\iota\tau\omicron\gamma)$). We thus propose to read + Ἀββα Σενουθίου [+] ἀρχημαν[δ]ρ(ίτου) “+ Abba Shenoute, [+] archimandrite.”

19. T.n.II.8.i-1; p. 290, Fig. 2.2. *Ed. princ.* Dilley, “*Dipinti*,” 119. Greek legend of a painting of Pcol. The reading of the name in the *ed. princ.* was corrected by A. Delattre, “Deux papyrus coptes et une inscription grecque du Monastère Blanc,” *BASP* 50 (2013) 198 (= *CIEN* 1.19), which is wrongly cited in the present edition. Moreover, the editor reverts to his reading of the name as $\pi\alpha\gamma[\lambda\omicron\gamma]$. In light of the inscription from the White Monastery edited by Delattre (also on p. 198 of the cited article), which has ἀπα Πκολίου προβάτορος (ll. 15-17), and the fact that the founder of the Red Monastery is also indicated with a Hellenized form of his Coptic name in the next niche (20: Ψα[ίου]), we still think that Delattre’s proposal to read Πκω[λίου] is the better one, even though the photo does not allow us to definitively confirm the reading. The next word, rendered προπατρος in the *ed. princ.*, and corrected to προπάτορος by Delattre, is transcribed as προπατωρος in the present edition. While the τ seems certain, it again remains impossible to decide from the photo whether the following letter is ο or ω, though it should at least receive a dot. There follows a χ with an abbreviation mark at the top, not included in the *ed. princ.* and by Delattre, for which the reading κ(αι) in the current edition is tempting, though such a notation is unknown to us and, if correct, should be noted as χ(αι) (read κ(αι)). The reading $\Delta\rho\chi\eta\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha(\Delta\rho\iota\tau\omicron\gamma)$ of the *ed. princ.*, followed by Delattre, is corrected to $\Delta\rho\chi\gamma\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho(\iota\tau\omicron\gamma)$ in the current edition. Though the first α is secure and there is indeed an υ

after ἀρχ-, there is no ρ at the end of the word. We rather see a δ that is partly covered by a thick vertical stroke, part of the decoration, which may also obscure an abbreviation mark. Following these considerations, we suggest the reading Πκω[λίου] προπάτορος χ(αἰ) (read κ(αἰ)) ἀρχυμανδ(ρίτου) “Pcol, first father and archimandrite,” though it remains tentative for want of a better picture.

20. T.n.II.10.i-1; p. 290, Fig. 2.1. *Ed. princ.* Dilley, “*Dipinti*,” 119. Greek legend of a painting of Pshoi. Note that the editor opts, in our opinion rightly, to follow Van der Vliet’s transcription [ΑΝΔ]Χ[Ω]ΡΙΤΟΥ “anchorite,” but that in the prosopography (p. 225) the earlier reading of the *ed. princ.*, [ΑΡ]Χ[ΗΜΑΝΔ]ΡΙΤΟΥ “archimandrite,” is assumed. The reading cannot be verified from the photo.

21. T.n.III.i-1; p. 290, Fig. 12.2. *Ed. princ.* Dilley, “*Dipinti*,” 120. Coptic legend of a painting of Isaiah. The editor reads the name as ΕΛΙΑC but there is no ε and it would be better to assume an Η in the lacuna (there does not seem to be enough space for ϣΗ). In the second line, the lower parts of ΕΙC are preserved and after ΒΙ not the letter ϣ but a τ with a slightly elongated vertical. Accordingly, the text should be corrected to + ΑΠ[Α Η]ΛΙΑC | ΠΕΤΕΙCΒΙΤΗΣ “+ Apa Elijah the Tishbite,” and is thus not that “garbled” (p. 288), since only the beginning of the title should read ΘΕC-, as e.g. in the *Life of Onnophrius*, fol. 7a (ed. E.A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* [London 1914] 210), ϣΗΛΙΑC ΠΕΘΕCΒΙΤΗΣ.

22. T.n.III.i-2; p. 290, Fig. 10.22. *Ed. princ.* Dilley, “*Dipinti*,” 120-121 (Fig. 5). First of four depictions of the major prophets (**22**: Ezekiel; **23**: Jeremiah; **24**: Isaiah; **25**: Daniel) carrying scrolls in their hands with a citation in Coptic from their Bible book, in this case Ezek. 44:2-3. As explained in the *ed. princ.* (p. 120), a good parallel for these compositions are the prophets with scrolls depicted in Chapel XII of the monastery of Bawit (see also the discussion by E. Bolman in the present volume, pp. 145-146, with further parallels). The first four of these are the same as here, and two of them even carry the same text (**22**: Ezek. 44:2-3 and **24**: Isa. 7:14-15; see J. Clédât, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, vol. 1 [Cairo 1904] 54-56; the text of Ezekiel is found at p. 55). None of these citations have been preserved in the (Sahidic) Old Testament, so that a comparison with the standard text cannot be made. Regarding the present text, several small improvements can be made: as in the three other citations, the text starts with a cross (probably a staurogram), not an abbreviation for ΧΡ(ΙCΤΟC); ll. 1-2: ΠΧΟΛΕΙC → ΠΧΟΛΕΙC; ll. 2-3: | ΠΥΛΗ → [ΤΕΙ]ΠΥΛΗ; l. 6: ΜΜΟ → ΜΜΟ[C]; ll. 9-10: | ϣ[Ο]ΥΝ →

ελ[ο]γν; l. 10: ερϞ → ερϞ[ς]; l. 14: the proposed emendation to read π<ετν>αβωκ for ναβωκ is unnecessary; ll. 14-15: [ελ]λογν → [ελ]ογν [ερος] (whether the last word is partly or completely in a l. 16 is impossible to decide from the photo).

23. T.n.III.i-3; pp. 290-291, Fig. 10.22. *Ed. princ.* Dilley, “*Dipinti*,” 121 (Fig. 5). Depiction of Jeremiah with a scroll citing Jer. 31:4-5 (LXX 38:4-5). Corrections: l. 1: as in 22, the text starts with a cross (probably a staurogram), not an abbreviation for χρ(ιστος); ll. 6-7: τεναλχι → τεναλχί; l. 8: ντει → ντεεϊ; ll. 6-9: translate “You will take your tambourine and go out with” (the emendation to read ζν instead of νν in l. 9 is incorrect).

24. T.n.III.i-7; p. 291, Figs. 10.23, 13.1. *Ed. princ.* Dilley, “*Dipinti*,” 121 (Fig. 6). Depiction of Isaiah with a scroll citing Isa. 7:14-15. Cf. the text from Bawit (Clédât, *Monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, vol. 1, 54-55; see 22 above), which only contains Isa. 7:14. Corrections: legend: + ησαεϊας προφυ(της) → + ησαεϊας πεπροφυ(της); ll. 3-4: νογ[ω]νρε → νογ[ω]ηρε; l. 6: επε[ρ]ραν → επερραν; ll. 8-10: ερ|ναογ[ωμ ν|ςη]ρε → ερ|ναογ[εμ|ςη]ρε; ll. 11-12: ωα|ατρεϊ|μ]ε ν- → ωατρεϊ|μ]ε ν- (read ωαντρε-; the same form of the limitative is found in the citation from Daniel [25, ll. 1-2], ωατογ-).

25. T.n.III.i-8; p. 291, Fig. 10.23. *Ed. princ.* Dilley, “*Dipinti*,” 121-122 (Fig. 6). Depiction of Daniel with a scroll citing Dan. 2:34-35, in a condensed version. Correction: ll. 9-10: εχн ογρη|ρε νν ζομντ → εχн νογρη|ρε (for ογρητε) νπζομντ.

26. T.n.III.i-9; p. 292, Fig. 10.23. *Ed. princ.* Dilley, “*Dipinti*,” 120. Coptic legend of a painting of Moses. In the name, the lower part of the Ϸ is visible, so instead of μωνςη[ς] we should transcribe μωνςηϷ πνονοθετης (read πνομοθετης) “Moses the Lawgiver.”

27. T.n.III.i-10; p. 292, Fig. 10.22. *Ed. princ.* Dilley, “*Dipinti*,” 122 (Fig. 7). Coptic legend of a painting of Joseph. The cross at the beginning is omitted and only the top part of the ι can be seen, hence the text should read + ιωςηφ παδικαιος “+ Joseph the just.”

28. T.n.III.i-12; p. 292, Fig. 10.19. *Ed. princ.* Dilley, “*Dipinti*,” 122. Greek/Coptic legend of a painting of the Archangel Gabriel. More letters are visible of the title, so instead of [α]ρχα[ρ]ελος read [α]ρχα[ρ]ε[λος] γαβριηλ “Archangel Gabriel.”

29. T.e.I.3.i-1; p. 292, Fig. 10.17. *Ed. princ.* Coptic legend of a painting of the Archangel Michael. In the name the final λ is not in a lacuna but omitted; there are also copying errors in the title (α for λ; ε for Ϸ),

hence the transcription should be + **μιχαη<λ> παρχαγγελοε** (read **παρχαγγελος**) “+ Michael the archangel.”

30. T.e.I.5.i-1; p. 292, Fig. 20.15. *Ed. princ.* Later (medieval) Greek-Coptic *dipinto* surrounding a large cross. It starts with the common formula “Jesus Christ conquers” in Greek (ll. 1-2). In l. 2, there is a supralinear stroke over the **νι** of **νικῃ**, hence **νικῃ** “triumphs.” Ll. 3-4 contain two parallel acclamations of the cross in Coptic, which should be translated “Cross, ... of victory! Cross, hope of the Christians!” In l. 3, there is an abbreviation mark under the **ο**, hence it should read **προ(ς)παων** and instead of **νπεχρο** read **μπεχρο** “of victory.” Which Greek word lurks behind **προ(ς)παων** remains unclear, though it may be a muddled form of **πρόσωπον** “figure.”

31. T.e.I.8.i-1; p. 292, Fig. 17.1. *Ed. princ.* First of four Coptic *dipinti* left by the painter Merkouri (see introduction), this one dated 1314/1315. In l. 2, the **ο** of **μερκοϥρι** is written in superscript between **κ** and **ϥ**, and the name should thus be transcribed **μερκ'ο'ϥρι**. In l. 4, there is a supralinear stroke above (and below) the last three letters of “Amen,” **αμην**.

32. T.e.III.i-3; p. 293, Figs. 20.14, 20.25. *Ed. princ.* First of nine Coptic/Greek legends of paintings of apostles from the first phase of painting (late fifth century). Rather than **βαρε[α]λομλαιοc**, restore **βαρε[ο]λομλαιοc** or, if there is no lacuna, **βαρε<ο>λομλαιοc** “Bartholomew,” the usual spelling of the name.

33. T.e.III.i-7; p. 293, Fig. 20.14. *Ed. princ.* Late fifth-century Greek/Coptic legend (see **32**). The division of the name over the two lines is erroneous and should be **ιακωβoc** “James.”

34. T.e.IV.i-1; p. 294, Fig. 10.9. *Ed. princ.* Coptic legend of a phase two (early sixth-century) painting of Moses receiving the Law. The editor leaves out the cross at the beginning. The letter after the **ν** is also hardly visible and should be dotted. Thus the transcription should be + **μωηcηc εϥχι νπ[νομοc]** (read **μπνομοc**) “+ Moses receiving the Law.”

35. T.e.IV.i-2; p. 294, Fig. 10.10. *Ed. princ.* Coptic legend of a phase two (early sixth-century) painting of Moses and the burning bush. The editor transcribes the name as **μωη{ο}ηc**, but it should rather be noted as **μωηϥηc** (read **μωηcηc**), in which the **ο** is a copying error for **ϥ**.

36. T.s.II.7.i-1; p. 295, Fig. 8.15. *Ed. princ.* Greek legend of a painting of John; the legend is said to be later than the phase three painting, without further discussion. The editor transcribes + **ο αγιoc <ι>ωαννης**,

but the first ς is not there, thus the transcription should rather be + $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \text{I}\omega\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$ “+ Saint John,” perhaps under influence of the sequence $\iota\omicron$ in the adjective, prompting the scribe to continue with the ω of $\text{I}\omega\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$. It is unclear from the photo whether the closing ς is open or closed (in the latter case it could be a copying error, \omicron for ς , as in 35) and we have therefore maintained the dot under the letter.

37. NSR.s.i-4; p. 295, Fig. 6.35. *Ed. princ.* Coptic visitor’s *dipinto* of unknown date. The text starts with the formulae $\text{I}\varsigma\ \chi\varsigma\ \beta\omega\eta\theta\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ “Jesus Christ, help them” and $\text{Z}\eta\ \omicron\gamma\eta\rho\eta\eta\eta$ (not $\text{Z}\eta\ \omicron\gamma\eta\rho\eta\eta\epsilon$, as in the *ed. princ.*) $\text{Z}\alpha\mu\eta\eta\eta$ “in peace, amen” (l. 1). It is written by $\text{A}\eta\omicron\kappa\ \text{I}\omega\text{Z}\alpha\eta\eta\eta\varsigma$ “I, Iohannes” (l. 3; the Z , as correctly read by the editor, is tucked in between ω and the α , which has a small curve, as with the α in $\text{Z}\alpha\mu\eta\eta\eta$ in l. 1). In l. 2, the μ of $\mu\omega\varsigma\eta\varsigma$ in the patronymic is secure.

38. NSR.s.i-5; p. 296, Fig. 6.35. *Ed. princ.* *Dipinto* of Thomas, of unknown date. The name is transcribed as $(\Theta)\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma$, but the Θ is perfectly visible, so the reading can be corrected to $\Theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma$.

39. NSR.s.i-6; p. 296, Fig. 6.35. *Ed. princ.* *Dipinto* of $\Theta\epsilon\omega\delta\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$, of unknown date. Note that the editor has omitted another *dipinto* to its right, a bust of a man under which the name $\beta\eta\varsigma\alpha$ is written.

40. NLR.n.i-1; p. 296, Fig. 15.1. *Ed. princ.* (this text is first mentioned by W.G. de Bock, *Matériaux pour servir à l’archéologie de l’Égypte chrétienne* [St. Petersburg 1901] 66-67, who includes a copy [Fig. 76], subsequently reproduced with a French translation by A. Mallon, “Copte [épigraphe],” in *DACL* 3.2 [1914] 2870 [Fig. 3281]). A second painter’s signature left by Merkouri (see introduction, 31), dated to 1301 CE. In l. 2, the text has an ornamental staurogram at the start, $\text{A}\eta\omicron\kappa$ “I” is left untranslated and there is a dot over the μ of $\mu\pi\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\text{'}\varsigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta$. In l. 4, $\pi\alpha\iota$ belongs with previous $\pi\omicron\omicron\text{'}\gamma\text{'}$ and should be followed by a space, hence translate “This very day, the 11th of the month Mesore.” At the end of the line, correct $\pi\mu\omicron\varsigma\eta$ to $\mu\omicron\varsigma\eta$; the same spelling of the month’s name is found in another painter’s signature of Merkouri in the church of Deir el-Fahuri of 1315/1316 (*SB Kopt.* 1.348.8).

41. F.I.4.i-2; p. 297, Fig. 20.28. *Ed. princ.* A Greek legend of a painting of a female saint, whose name starts with Θ - but the rest cannot be read. The editor leaves out the cross at the beginning, which should read + $\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}[a]$ “+ Saint.”

42. N.n.i-1; p. 297, Fig. 17.3. *Ed. princ.* (an incomplete transcription of ll. 1-9 is found in De Bock, *Matériaux* [see no. 40] 66 [Fig. 79]). Coptic *dipinto* (not in red but black paint) commemorating the dedication

of a painting of an equestrian saint that is found below it (see Fig. 16.5). The text consists of sixteen lines and is dated to 1285/1286 CE. The text starts in l. 1 with $\overline{\text{TC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$ on both sides of a Solomon's knot (not described). In ll. 2-10, after a request for the blessing and protection of his well-being, we learn that the Deacon Paul has commissioned the painting in order that the martyr may plead with God on his behalf. The text then asks Christ to bless him, his fathers and brothers, as well as a specific monk from the monastery (ll. 10-12), and to receive his gift, which is compared to two well-known biblical offerings to God, the sacrifice of Abraham (Gen. 22:1-19) and the gift of the poor widow's two coins (Mark 12:41-44; Luke 21:1-4; ll. 12-14). The text ends with the dating formula (ll. 14-16), including the phrase $\epsilon\rho\overline{\text{ΠOC}} \omega \text{N}[\text{PP}]\omega \epsilon\zeta\text{ρα}\dot{\text{I}} \epsilon\chi\omega\text{N}$ "while the Lord is king over us" (for this formula, see J. van der Vliet, "Christus Imperat. An Ignored Coptic Dating Formula," in Y.N. Youssef, S. Moawad [eds.], *From Old Cairo to the New World. Coptic Studies Presented to Gawdat Gabra on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* [Leuven 2013] 173-184, with discussion in *CIEN* 1.1), and the name of the painter, Mer-goure (ll. 15-16). Again, there are quite a few errors in both transcription and translation: l. 4: $\epsilon\text{NΠ}\text{Ζ}\text{N}\text{Ζ}\omega\text{N} \rightarrow \epsilon\text{NΠ}\text{Ε}\text{N}\text{C}\omega\text{N}$ (and adjust the translation of ll. 3-4 to "the well-being of our venerable brother"); $\overline{\text{MMA}}\dot{\text{I}}\alpha\text{Γ}\alpha\text{P}\eta \rightarrow \overline{\text{MMA}}\text{N}\alpha\text{Γ}\alpha\text{P}\epsilon$ (the fourth letter looks like a N , perhaps corrected from I ; read $\overline{\text{MMA}}\text{I}\alpha\text{Γ}\alpha\text{P}\eta$); l. 5: $\epsilon\text{MMA}\dot{\text{I}}\text{Π}\text{POC}\text{Φ}\text{O}\text{P}\alpha \rightarrow \epsilon\text{MMA}\dot{\text{I}}\text{Π}\text{P}\omega\text{C}\text{Φ}\omega\text{P}\alpha$; l. 6: $\epsilon\text{Π}\text{Π}\text{MA}\text{Γ}\alpha\text{P}\dot{\text{I}}\omega\text{C} \rightarrow \epsilon\text{MΠ}\text{MA}\text{Γ}\alpha\text{P}\dot{\text{I}}\omega\text{C}$ (also translate "blessed," not "holy"); $\text{ΠEO}\omega\psi \rightarrow \text{ΠE}<\text{q}>\omega\psi$ (the translation correctly states "his love"); l. 7: $\alpha\text{Q}\text{T}\text{P}\text{E}\gamma\text{CMI}\text{NE} \rightarrow \alpha\text{Q}\text{T}\text{P}\text{N}\gamma\text{CMI}\text{NE}$ (read $\alpha\text{Q}\text{T}\text{P}\text{E}\gamma\text{CMI}\text{NE}$, a copying error; translate "he commissioned"); $\overline{\text{N}}\text{Π}\text{AI}\text{MH}\text{N} \rightarrow \overline{\text{N}}\text{Π}\text{AI}\text{MH}\text{N} [\text{Π}]\alpha\text{I}$ (the translation correctly states "this painting"); l. 8: $\text{ΠETO}\gamma\text{OQ} \rightarrow \text{ΠETO}\gamma\alpha\text{q}$; $\text{ΠI}<\alpha>\dot{\text{r}}\omega\text{C} \rightarrow \text{ΠI}<\alpha>\dot{\text{r}}\omega\text{C}$ (single dot over first I); ll. 8-9: $\text{ZEN} \mid \text{NEQ}\dot{\text{Z}}\text{ICE} \text{M}\dot{\text{I}}\text{NE} \mid \text{M}\dot{\text{I}}\text{NE} \overline{\text{M}}\omega\text{q} \rightarrow \text{ZEN} \mid \text{NEQ}\dot{\text{Z}}\text{ICE} \text{M}\dot{\text{I}}\text{NE} \{\text{M}\dot{\text{I}}\text{NE}\} \overline{\text{M}}\omega\text{q}$ (dittography; translate "by his own means"); l. 10: $<\epsilon>\overline{\text{Z}}\text{P}\alpha\dot{\text{I}} \rightarrow \overline{\text{Z}}\text{P}\alpha\dot{\text{I}}$ (not necessary to restore ϵ); $\overline{\text{ΠOC}}$ "the Lord" is left untranslated; l. 11: $\text{MENNEQCN}\epsilon\gamma \rightarrow \text{MEN} <\text{N}>\epsilon\text{QCN}\epsilon\gamma$ (a case of haplography); l. 12: add space between ΠE and $\epsilon\text{B}\omega$ (read ϵQO ; change translation from "wretched" to "who is"); $\text{ΠIMO}\gamma\text{N}\alpha\text{CTEP}\dot{\text{I}}\omega\text{N} \rightarrow \text{ΠIMO}\gamma\text{N}\alpha\text{CTEP}\dot{\text{I}}\omega\text{N}$ (single dot over first I as well); l. 13: $\text{NTAQ}\omega\text{ΠE} \rightarrow \text{NTAQ}[\omega]\omega\text{Π}$ (the q is only partly visible, the ω in the lacuna; there is no ϵ at the end); $\overline{\text{NTE}}\theta\epsilon\text{CIA} \rightarrow \overline{\text{NTE}}\theta\epsilon\text{CIA}$ (single dot over I); l. 14: $\alpha\text{Q}\text{P}\alpha\text{Z}\alpha\text{q} \epsilon\text{NΠ}\text{ΛHΠT}\omega\text{N} \rightarrow \alpha\text{Q}\text{P}\alpha\text{Z}\alpha\text{M} <\text{M}>\epsilon\text{NΠ}\text{ΛHΠT}\omega\text{N}$ (another haplography); $\text{CN}[\alpha\gamma] \text{NTE}\chi\eta\text{P}\alpha \rightarrow \text{CN}[\alpha\gamma \text{N}] \text{TE}\chi\eta\text{P}\alpha$ (nothing is visible of the second N); ll. 12-14

should thus be translated: “May the Lord receive his gift, just as he accepted the sacrifice of our father Abraham and the two coins of the widow”; $\pi\epsilon\zeta\pi\alpha\iota \rightarrow \pi\epsilon\zeta<\omicron\omicron\gamma> \pi\alpha\iota$ “this very day” (see 40 above); l. 16: $\pi\varsigma\alpha\zeta$ is “the master (craftsman),” not “the teacher.”

43. Karnak. Coptic graffito. A. Delattre, P. Heilporn, A. Martin, N. Vanthieghem, “Papyrologica III,” *CdE* 91 (2016) 211-224 at 219 (no. 22). Note by A. Delattre on a Coptic graffito from one of the churches built in the temple complex at Karnak published by H. Munier, M. Pillet, “Les édifices chrétiens de Karnak,” *REgA* 2 (1929) 58-88 at 85, correcting the name from $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ to $\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon$. Thus the inscription runs: $+ \pi\epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon \alpha\kappa\omega \pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$, which should be translated, not as “+ Petre left this place” as in the note, but as “+ Petre came here” (cf. Crum, *Dict.* 95b, with explicit reference to the Karnak graffiti).

44. Western Thebes. Christian graffiti. G. Cavillier, “The Butehamon Project. Coptic ‘Traces and Paths’ in the Theban Necropolis,” in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, vol. 2 (Leuven 2016) 1495-1500. Very brief account of a survey, which took place in 2010-2012 in the context of the larger “Butehamon Project,” investigating the Christian reuse of ancient pathways in the area between Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Kings, in particular by recording graffiti.

45. Western Thebes. Coptic graffiti, 6th-8th cent. A. Delattre, G. Lecuyot, “À qui et à quoi servaient les ‘ermitages’ des vallées sud-ouest de la montagne thébaine?,” in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, vol. 1 (Leuven 2016) 709-718. Presentation of a survey project carried out between 2004 and 2008 to study the Christian installations in the wadis in the south-western part of the Theban mountain, including almost 300 graffiti. After some considerations on the spread of Christianity in the area and the possible functions of the installations, three sites are discussed that are particularly rich in epigraphical material (C6, C7 and C’7). All three contain inscriptions of visitors from Middle Egypt (such as a $\pi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\nu \rho\epsilon\omega\rho\epsilon \kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$ “brother George, the little”), showing the attraction that these sites evidently exerted. Other, more modest habitations may have served as temporary monastic cells.

46. Western Thebes (Dra' Abu el-Naga). Coptic inscriptions, 5th-9th cent. T. Beckh, "Monks, Magicians, Archaeologists. New Results on Coptic Settlement Development in Dra' Abu el-Naga North, Western Thebes," in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, vol. 1 (Leuven 2016) 739-747. The results of another survey conducted in the area surrounding the monastery of Deir el-Bakhit in Dra' Abu el-Naga North. Among the finds from a dump near the monastery left during the excavations of R. Hay and J.G. Wilkinson in the 1830s are 14 bowls, of which one bears an inscription indicating their function as censers (ϣοῦρη). Since archaeological evidence from the monastery shows that such bowls were actually produced there, this explains the name sometimes used for the monastery, πκολοα (and variants) "the Cup" (already H.E. Winlock, W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, vol. 1 [New York 1926] 112). Other epigraphical evidence comes from two monastic installations built into the hill (partly reusing pharaonic tombs) known as sites XXVI and XXVII that were closely connected to the monastery. The core of XXVI is formed by a "cave-like tomb" consisting of an entrance hall where many visitors' inscriptions were found and an interior room. Pottery samples show this to be one of the oldest parts of the complex, going back into the fifth-sixth centuries, and on the analogy of the monastery of Epiphanius the author hypothesizes that the inner room may have been the cell of the anchorite Paul, after whom the monastery was named. At site XXVII, the already known *dipinto* mentioning an Apa Phoibamon is discussed (cf. Winlock, Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius*, vol. 1, 22) but also a new inscription above it containing several names. In the last part of his contribution, the author draws attention to several graffiti from tomb TT 378, part of site XXVI, with a magical background.

47. Western Thebes (Sheikh Abd el-Qurna). Coptic graffiti. M. Underwood, H. Behlmer, "Coptic Documents from the Tomb of Mery, Theban Tomb No. 95," in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, vol. 1 (Leuven 2016) 779-793. Overview of the Christian texts from TT 95, mainly Greek and Coptic ostraca and papyri. The authors also briefly mention (pp. 781-782) the study and recording of the Coptic graffiti painted in red in the pillared hall of the tomb as well as the northern door reveal and the recess of the façade. The texts will be included in the final publication

of the tomb. For now, only an image of the best-preserved *dipinto* has been reproduced on the front cover of A. Loprieno's *Ancient Egyptian: A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge 1995). As is explained in n. 19, the first part of the text has been identified by A. Suciú as an extract from Isaiah of Scetis' *Asceticon*.

48. Between Kom Ombo and Aswan. Coptic building inscription, 1018 CE. T.S. Richter, "Eine koptische und eine arabische Bauinschrift zwischen Assuan und Kom Ombo," in A. Łajtar, A. Obłuski, I. Zych (eds.), *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (Warsaw 2016) 231-246. Re-edition of a Coptic inscription that was published together with an Arabic text as a bilingual building inscription by U. Bouriant, "Notes de voyage, § 17: inscription historique bilingue, copte et arabe," *RecTrav* 15 (1893) 176-177. Though the inscriptions now seem lost, the author discusses their likely location on the road along the east bank of the Nile, north of el-Aqaba el-Kabira, halfway between Aswan and Kom Ombo. The Coptic text reconstructed by the author begins with an invocation of God (l. 1) and commemorates the work done on the road through the care of the renowned Amir Abu al-Asad (ΠΑΝΕΥΦΙΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΜΕΡΑ ΑΠΟΥΛΑΣΕΔΕ, ll. 3-4). The date at the end of the text (ll. 13-14) was read by the first editor as ΑΠΟΔΙΟ[.]Λ[- - -]Α[- - -]ΥΘ and interpreted as year 409 of the Era of Diocletian (693 CE), while the date of the Arabic inscription below the Coptic text was read as 7[3] Hijra (693 CE). The author proposes to read instead ΑΠΟ ΔΙΟ[Κ(ΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΥ)] Ι [Ψ]Λ[Δ C]Α[ΡΑΚΕΝΟΣ] ΥΘ, that is, year 734 of the Era of Diocletian, Hijra year 409 (1018 CE). The Arabic text, on the other hand, dates to Hijra year 737 (1336/1337 CE), so that the two inscriptions commemorate two distinct, albeit similar, events.

49. Kharga Oasis (el-Bagawat). Arabic graffiti, 10th-17th cent. V. Ghica, "Les graffites arabes de la nécropole d'al-Bağawāt et l'oasis d'al-Ḥārīğā entre les époques fatimide et ottomane," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 15 (2013) 29-42. Preliminary report on the Arabic graffiti found in the necropolis (based on the transcriptions, sometimes corrected, of I.M. Haggagi, "Graffites arabes de Bagawāt," *Annales Islamologiques* 14 [1978] 271-287). The author shows that Christians and Muslims visited the site during the same period, since some Arabic inscriptions (Bag.ar. 1-3) are contemporaneous with the Coptic graffiti Bag. 31.75 and 31.128 (not 31.81 and 31.130) dated to 1013 (cf. G. Roquet, "Les graffites coptes

de Bagawât [Oasis de Kharga]. Remarques préliminaires,” *Bulletin de la Société française d’Égyptologie* 76 [1976] 31-33). Some centuries later, the text Bag.ar. 15 commemorates the visit of a group of Muslims and a Christian monk in the fifteenth century. This monk named Fahr al-Irani is the only Christian who left his name in Bagawat in Arabic. Finally, the author sees the influence of Coptic formulae in some of the Arabic inscriptions, such as in Bag.ar. 12 (1308 CE), which recalls the aphorism that can be found in the Coptic inscription Bag. 4.2 (ϣαρπησιζαι μουν εβολ ϣαρπησιζ τακω “the writing endures, the hand perishes”), and in a colophon and two inscriptions from the White Monastery (*P.Lond.Copt.* 489 and W.E. Crum, “Inscriptions from Shenoute’s Monastery,” *JThS* 5 [1904] 561 [no. A8.6], 563 [no. A9.10]).

50. Nubia. Greek *dipinti* in *pastophoria*. A. Łajtar, D. Zielińska, “The Northern *Pastophorium* of Nubian Churches: Ideology and Function (on the Basis of Inscriptions and Paintings),” in A. Łajtar, A. Obłuski, I. Zych (eds.), *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (Warsaw 2016) 435-457. Several medieval Nubian *pastophoria* bear Greek *dipinti* of a liturgical nature, often coupled with a painted scene of Christ blessing the chalice. The most comprehensive set of such texts (from room 7 of the Northwest Annex of the Monastery on Kom H at Dongola) is given in translation (pp. 439-441) and its connections with the liturgy of the presanctified gifts as celebrated in various Eastern traditions are discussed (pp. 446-449). The interlocking iconographic and epigraphic evidence suggests a functional relationship between the northern *pastophorium* of Nubian churches and the celebration of the mentioned rite.

51. Nubia. Dignitaries with horned crowns and epigraphic evidence. S. Jakobielski, “Horned Crown – An Epigraphic Evidence,” *ÉtTrav* 26 (2013) 325-337, discusses the epigraphic evidence that may help to reveal the identity of the Nubian nobles who are depicted wearing a headgear in the form of a horned crown. Even if these representations are numerous, there are only three examples where inscriptions allowing an identification are preserved. In the first one from Faras (now kept in the Sudan National Museum in Khartum, inv. 24353), dating to the twelfth century, one reads the Greek legend [+ ο] ὁ ἄγιος ἐστὶν | [– – –] ἑπαρχ(ος) | [– – –], which the author tentatively restores to [+ ο] ὁ ἄγιος ἐστὶν | [Ἀδὰμ] ἑπαρχ(ος) | [Νοβ(άδων) δωμ(εστικὸς) Παχώρας]. In the second one

from the church of Abd el-Qadir near Wadi Halfa (now kept in the Sudan National Museum in Khartum, inv. 24325), below the representation of a dignitary with a horned crown one finds a short prayer in Greek which was already transcribed by F.Ll. Griffith ("Oxford Excavations in Nubia," *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 15 [1928] Pl. 29.12) and is reedited here. The text asks the Lord to protect, bless and guide [ΜΑ]ΡΙΚΟΥΔ(Α) "great (?) eparch of the Nobadians, *domesticus* (?) of Pachoras," who is probably the person depicted (and not the donor of the portrait). This dignitary is otherwise known, so that the painting can be dated to the 1270s. The third inscription is the legend of a mural from the Rivergate Church at Faras. The inscription of seven lines was (mis)-transcribed by Griffith ("Oxford Excavations in Nubia," *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 13 [1926] Pl. 64.12) and the author again proposes a new edition. The (Greek or Greek-Nubian?) text begins with [+]
οὔ[τός] ἐστιν, then the name (badly preserved) and the title "eparch of Nobadia and also *domesticus* of Pachoras"; other titles seem to follow and the text ends with the wish πολλὰ [τὰ ἔ]τη "many years (to him)." The scarce epigraphic evidence thus shows that the dignitaries with horned crowns can be identified as eparchs, but at the same time the author leaves open the possibility of W. Godlewski's hypothesis ("Bishops and Kings: The Official Program of the Pachoras [Faras] Cathedrals," in W. Godlewski, A. Łajtar [eds.], *Between the Cataracts. Proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian Studies*, vol. 1 [Warsaw 2008] 271-274, 277-278), that this headgear was also used by Nubian kings, since the clothing and attributes of kings and eparchs are quite similar.

52. Abdallah-n Irqi. Greek visitor's inscription, 987/988 CE.

G. Ochala, "When Epigraphy Meets Art History: On St Phoibammon from Abdallah-n Irqi," in A. Łajtar, A. Obłuski, I. Zych (eds.), *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (Warsaw 2016) 513-524. New reading of a damaged graffito, first published by H.D. Schneider in P. van Moorsel, J. Jacquet, H.D. Schneider, *The Central Church of Abdallah Nirqi* (Leiden 1975) 34 (no. 6), on the basis of an unpublished photo from the archive of the Dutch mission. The text mentions a Diocletian year 704 (corresponding to 987/988 CE) and was left by a priest Isaak, in honor of (?) St. Phoibammon, next to a painting of the saint. The newly obtained date allows for a somewhat more precise dating of the tenth-century wall paintings in the church.

53. Gebel Adda. Christian textual finds. A. Łajtar, “A Survey of Christian Textual Finds from Gebel Adda in the Collections of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto,” in J.R. Anderson, D.A. Welsby (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies* (Leuven 2014) 951-959. Announcement of a project to publish the Christian texts brought to light during excavations of the American Research Center in Egypt at Gebel Adda in 1962-1965. Among the briefly described objects are two fragmentary funerary stelae in Coptic (one illustrated, Pl. 1).

54. Serra East. Christian textual finds. B.B. Williams, L. Heidorn, “Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition (OINE) Publication Project,” in G.J. Stein (ed.), *The Oriental Institute 2013-2014 Annual Report* (Chicago 2014) 119-127. Progress report on the publication of the Oriental Institute excavations of the 1960s, including at Serra-East and Qasr el-Wizz. The report contains a small contribution by A. Tsakos and D. Zielińska on the Christian wall paintings and textual finds (p. 125), mentioning a painting from the Central Church of Christ enthroned who holds a tablet inscribed with John 1:1 in Greek (Fig. 9).

55. Serra East. Christian textual finds. B.B. Williams et al., “Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition (OINE) Publication Project,” in G.J. Stein (ed.), *The Oriental Institute 2014-2015 Annual Report* (Chicago 2015) 130-143. See above, **54**. The report contains a contribution by A. Tsakos on the Christian textual finds (p. 138), briefly mentioning e.g. a fragmentary Greek funerary stela (Fig. 10).

56. Dongola. Greek/Old Nubian mural inscriptions, 11th-14th cent. A. Łajtar, “Dongola 2010: Epigraphic Report,” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 23 (2014) 285-295. Report on the inscriptions (*dipinti* and graffiti) found on the walls of a building adjoining the church of the so-called Monastery on Kom H, north of the Dongola citadel. Situated to the west of the church, the building may originally have been the dwelling of a holy man, which was later turned into a kind of commemorative church. This second phase, to which the inscriptions belong, can be roughly dated to the eleventh-early fourteenth centuries. The texts are in Greek or Old Nubian or a mixture of both and comprise legends accompanying paintings, invocations and prayers, school texts (alphabetic exercises), and many visitors’ inscriptions. Among the prayers, one appears to seek protection against sorcery (*pharmakia*). Several inscriptions mention

a St. Anna, probably a local saint, not the mother of Mary. The visitors are mainly clergymen from Dongola, some of them also attested in nearby Banganarti. No texts are given, but some inscriptions are reproduced in facsimile.

57. Dongola. Greek/Old Nubian mural inscriptions, 10th/11th cent. or later. A. Łajtar, “Wall Inscriptions in the Southwest Annex to the Monastery on Kom H at Dongola: Report on Work in the 2013 Season,” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 24 (2015) 344-351. Brief report on the documentation of the inscriptions on the walls of a complex annexed to the Monastery on Kom H. No texts are given. Whereas visitors’ inscriptions are mostly graffiti (pp. 349-350), many *dipinti* are intrinsically connected with the architecture and decoration of the complex. The *dipinti* include dedications of and legends to the rich and varied wall paintings that adorn the complex, lists, and biblical and literary texts (among the latter, a quotation from Basil, for which see **58** below). Note that the “names” of the ox and the donkey in the Nativity scene (pp. 346-347) are not onomatopoeic, but the Coptic words for these animals, **ⲙⲁⲥⲉ** and **ⲉⲓⲱ**.

58. Dongola. Greek *dipinto* with Patristic quotation, 10th/11th cent. or later. *Ed. princ.* A. Łajtar, “A Quotation from Saint Basil’s *De jejuniō homilia prima* 1 in a Wall Inscription from the Southwest Annex of the Monastery on Kom H in Dongola,” in W. Godlewski, D. Dzierzbicka (eds.), *Dongola 2012-2014. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Warsaw 2015) 289-292. Edition of a *dipinto* in the vestibule (room 1) of the Southwest Annex of the Monastery on Kom H in Dongola (see **57** above). The text contains a quotation from the first chapter of Basil’s first *Homily on Fasting* (CPG 2845): + Μὴ εἰς κρίσι (read κρίσεις) καὶ μάχας νηστεύεται (read νηστεύετε; note that the *ed. princ.* has νεστεύεται)· ἀλλὰ λῦε πάν[τα σύνδεσ]μον ἀδικία[ς] “+ Do not fast unto judgment and strife, but loose every chain of injustice.” A following signature with date is incompletely preserved. The commentary discusses the quotation itself, which combines Isa. 58:4 and 6, its programmatic nature, and its possible relation to the painted decoration of the room. The inscription must postdate the tenth/eleventh century (the date of construction of room 1).

59. Dongola. Ten Greek/Old Nubian wall inscriptions, 9th/10th cent. or later. A. Łajtar, “Wall Inscriptions in Church SWN.B.V on the Citadel

of Dongola,” in W. Godlewski, D. Dzierzbicka (eds.), *Dongola 2012-2014. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Warsaw 2015) 111-116. Brief report on ten Greek/Old Nubian inscriptions discovered on the walls of Church SWN.B.V during excavations in 2014. No texts are given. In addition to legends of paintings, distinguished by their in some cases rare vocabulary, the most notable inscriptions are two texts in the *prothesis* that link this room to the liturgy of the presanctified gifts (see **50** above), probably from the late ninth-tenth century. The inscriptions show that the church was quite likely dedicated to the Archangel Raphael. An appendix (pp. 115-116) briefly reviews texts discovered during earlier seasons, most notably the stela of Staurosania (see *CIEN* 2.86).

60. Dongola. Inscriptions on amphora stoppers, 7th-8th cent.

D. Dzierzbicka, “Amphora Stoppers of the 7th Century from Old Dongola,” in W. Godlewski, D. Dzierzbicka (eds.), *Dongola 2012-2014. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Warsaw 2015) 153-167. A discussion of stamped amphora stoppers, both of Egyptian and local origins, found in seventh- and early eighth-century contexts on the Dongola citadel. As the material is fragmentary, most of the inscriptions are difficult to read and interpret. The Nubian ones most often seem to be names and words in Greek. Thus, a well preserved cruciform stamp bears the name (?) ΘΕΟΛΟΓΕ; a second stamp on the same stopper consists of an undeciphered monogram (pp. 155-157). On the basis of Egyptian analogies, the names are considered to be those of wine-producing estates, unidentifiable due to our lack of knowledge of medieval Nubian topography. On one of the Egyptian stoppers, the inscription Πεκουσίου may refer to the estate of a Pekysis, a name well attested in the Aswan region (pp. 162-163).

61. Dongola. Inscriptions on amphorae, 7th cent.

K. Danys, “Amphorae from Building SWN.B.I in Dongola,” in W. Godlewski, D. Dzierzbicka (eds.), *Dongola 2012-2014. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Warsaw 2015) 117-151. Briefly reviews the painted monograms and engraved potter’s marks (including the name of Michael) on locally produced amphorae found in Dongola in a seventh-century context (pp. 120-121).

62. Dongola. Greek *dipinti* on amphorae, 7th cent. Ed. princ.

K. Danys, A. Łajtar, “Egyptian Amphorae LR 5/6 with Greek *Dipinti* Found in Dongola,” in A. Łajtar, A. Obluski, I. Zych (eds.), *Aegyptus et*

Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday (Warsaw 2016) 347-357. Edition of a group of seven wine amphorae of Egyptian provenance, found in Dongola in a seventh-century context, which bear a Greek *dipinto* reading τοῖς τετράσι (with variations) followed by a numeral. The editors propose a translation “to the four” and take it to be the address for delivery of the wine. They tentatively suggest to interpret “the four” as referring to a church dedicated to the Four Living Creatures from Revelation, widely venerated as saints in medieval Nubia.

63. Banganarti. Enkolpion with names, 11th-12th cent. B. Żurawski, “The Banganarti Nativity: Enkolpion with Scene of the Birth of Jesus from House BA/2015 in Banganarti,” in A. Łajtar, A. Obłuski, I. Zych (eds.), *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. The Włodzimierz Godlewski Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (Warsaw 2016) 647-657. Publication of a slate *enkolpion* representing a much-worn miniature scene of the Nativity in raised relief, discovered in an eleventh-twelfth century context in Banganarti. The obverse gives the engraved names of Jesus Christ, Mary, and Joseph (the first and last abbreviated).

64. Banganarti. Greek funerary stela, 8th-9th cent. J. Diethart, “Die mutterlosen weinenden Kinder. Zu Adam Łajtar in *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 37 (2007),” *JJP* 45 (2015) 41-43, proposes corrections to an epitaph from Banganarti first published by A. Łajtar, “Three Greek Epitaphs from Banganarti,” *JJP* 33 (2003) 165-169 (no. 2). A new fragment of the tombstone was found in 2006 and the text was reedited by A. Łajtar, “New Finds of Funerary Inscriptions in Banganarti (Christian Nubia),” *JJP* 37 (2007) 135-137. Lines 2-5 were edited as ἐκοιμήθη Μαρία ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δούλη κα[ταλιποῦ]σα ἀμητόρος τ[ca. 7-8 τέ]κνα and translated “the servant of God Maria fell asleep leaving [---] children motherless” (ἀμητόρος for ἀμητόρως). The author suggests to read the latter part as κα[ταλιποῦ]σα ἀμήτορα στ[ένοντα τέ]κνα “leaving behind motherless, lamenting children.”

65. Ghazali. Coptic funerary inscriptions. G. Ochała, “Multilingualism in Christian Nubia: A Case Study of the Monastery of Ghazali (Wadi Abu Dom, Sudan),” in T. Derda, A. Łajtar, J. Urbanik (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, vol. 2 (Warsaw 2016) 1265-1283 discusses the relatively high percentage of Coptic funerary inscriptions from the monastic site of Ghazali in Makuria (see **66** below)

against the background of the ratio of Greek vs. Coptic epitaphs from other sites in Nobadia and Makuria. For a more comprehensive treatment of Nubian multilingualism by the same author, see *CIEN* 2.81.

66. Ghazali. New epigraphical finds. A. Obłuski, G. Ochała, “La redécouverte d’un monastère nubien: premiers résultats des fouilles polonaises à Ghazali, Ouadi Abu Dom,” in A. Boud’hors, C. Louis (eds.), *Études coptes XIV: Seizième journée d’études* (Paris 2016) 63-79. A report on the first two seasons of Polish excavations at the important monastic site of Ghazali, with a brief review of the inscribed finds (pp. 69-77). These include several fragmentary funerary stelae, predominantly in Coptic (cf. 65 above), over 130 graffiti, most of them poorly legible, and 36 inscriptions on pottery, usually engraved with names of owners and saints. One of the epitaphs bears an opening formula of the “God of the spirits”-type in Coptic, which is rare in Nubia, where it is often found in its Greek form. A graffito preserves the prayer *Agnus Dei*, inscribed in Greek on one of the walls of the north church, and a visitor’s inscription mentions a Deacon Jacob, who was the son of a King Basil. No texts are given.

REVIEWS

Papiri della Società Italiana, volume sedicesimo (PSI XVI) n° 1575-1653, a cura di Guido Bastianini, Francesca Maltomini, Gabriella Messeri. Edizioni dell'Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli," 1. Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2013. xxviii + 346 pages, 56 plates. ISBN 978-88-6655-382-3.

The volume under review contains both (para)literary texts (nos. **1575-1617**) and documents (nos. **1618-1653**); some of these texts are re-editions of previously published papyri. **1575** (LXX, Amos, 6, 9-10) appears to be a fragment of a book-roll and may derive from a Jewish rather than a Christian milieu. **1576**, the re-edition of PSI inv. 3779, contains a fragment of Cyril's ὁμιλίας ἑορταστικάι (no. 9), read during the celebration of the Epiphany, in which he announces the date of Easter for the year 421. Given that the first column is complete, the text of this homily can be reconstructed as comprising ca. 20 columns. Other points of interest: in 1.2 τὰ οἷσπερ is preferable to οἷσπερ of the manuscript tradition; at 1.3 the reading ἔχει confirms Burns' emendation (against Migne's ἔχειν); at 1.4 the papyrus clearly transmits αὐτόμαρτυς, a word found elsewhere in Cyril's writings, as against αὐτὸς μάρτυς of the tradition; at 1.5 the papyrus transmits the correct εἰσβήσεται instead of the corrupt εἰσρήσεται; at 1.19 the papyrus offers a different word-order (τὰ τοιαῦτα φαίη τις ἂν ἀρρωστήματα) that is to be preferred to φαίη τις ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀρρωστήματα of the tradition.

1577, the re-edition of inv. 295, transmits *Physiologus Graecus* 41-2. It probably derives from a roll and was written *transversa charta*. This papyrus is the oldest preserved testimony of this text. The part preserved in **1577** can be compared with that of the *redactio prima* (second-fourth centuries CE), but does not follow any of the five classes of manuscripts corresponding to this *redactio*. The editor (Marco Stroppa) provides detailed comparisons with these five manuscript classes as well as the ancient translations (Latin, Ethiopian, Syriac, Arabic), and offers an *exempli gratia* reconstruction at p. 25.

A few shorter pieces of archaic epic poetry follow. **1578** contains II. 2.850-65 and presents some (not unusual) corruptions of proper names or other scribal errors, while it is possible that a variant may be lurking at verse 861: the papyrus transmits πα[, whereas the vulgate has καὶ ἄλλους.

The *recto* of this text contains a documentary text (not published). **1579**, whose *recto* also preserves a documentary text (not published), offers another fragment from the *Iliad* (6.486-97). Contrary to the previous text, this one contains *prosodiai*, *diareseis*, and *stigmai*. The scribe is the same as the one who copied *PSI* 11.1185 (from Kom Ali el-Gamman at Oxyrhynchus) that preserves *Il.* 6.498-529. Furthermore, this hand appears similar (if not identical) to that of *PSI* 11.1188 + *PSI* inv. 1621 and 1870 *verso* (= *PSI* *Il.* 21), preserving *Il.* 10.9-18, 550-79 and also written on the *verso* of a roll found at Kom Ali el-Gamman; on onomastic grounds both must be of Arsinoite origin. The editor suggests that the two rolls may be associated with Sarapion *alias* Apollonianus, an Oxyrhynchite citizen who functioned as strategos of the Arsinoite, and later of the Hermopolite in the first half of the third century CE. **1580** consists of two fragments deriving from a parchment codex containing *Il.* 16.394-406 and 435-48. There are *prosodiai* and a *diairesis*. Traces of writing are visible on the top margin of the *recto* (*variae lectiones*?), but are not clear enough so as to determine their content. The same is true for the top margin of the *verso*. Verse 402 has been omitted. **1581**, a small fragment of a book-roll, gives the ends of *Il.* 327-31 of *Od.* 22. Part of Hes. *Th.* 7-13 with a few lectional signs is found in **1582**.

Historical prose is found in **1583–1595**. **1583** preserves part of Herodotus 7.1.2; it may derive from an edition of Herodotus made at Oxyrhynchus and seems to have been copied by scribe A7.¹ In l. 4 καὶ πλοῖα may have been omitted as in C. **1584** is a fragment of a roll and contains Thucydides 1.23.6 (*verso*) and 1.26.3 (*recto*); the *verso* is a mirror-text caused by traces of ink, the papyrus having been rolled after the text had been written. The hand is the same as in *P.Oxy.* 57.3879, three papyrus fragments containing parts of Book 1 of Thucydides; our text is to be placed a little before fr. 2 of *P.Oxy.* 3879. The left margin of the *verso* contains a note that refers to the text of the preceding column (1.25.4 or thereabouts). Parts of Thuc. 2.4.4-5 are preserved on **1585** that, as far as one can surmise based on its extreme fragmentary state, does not depart significantly from the medieval tradition, apart from ἔριψ[αν at l. 3 and ἄλλ]ος at l. 11. Also of interest is the reading οὐ at l. 9 found also in ABEFGM³, adopted by modern editors instead of οἱ (C). **1586** transmits part of Thuc. 2.85.3. **1587** consists of three fragments that contain parts of Thuc. 4.12.3 (fr. 1, col. 1), 4.13.3 (col. 2), 8.96.5 (fr. 2), and 8.109.1

¹ For this scribe see W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 21-22 and 260-262.

(fr. 3), copied by the Oxyrhynchite scribe B5.² Part of Thuc. 4.133.3-4 is preserved on **1588**; the hand is identified with that of the scribe of *P.Oxy.* 18.2181, an edition of Plato's *Phaedo*. Of interest is the reading ὅτ' ἔφυγεν transmitted by the papyrus in l. 12, which is considered superior to ὅτε ἐπεφύγει of the medieval tradition; and l. 13 presupposes the variant τοῦ θέρους τούτου instead of the medieval tradition's τοῦ θέρους ἤδη. **1589** (Thuc. 5.42-43) belongs to the same roll as *P.Erl.* 9 that contains 5.47.4-6. **1590**, possibly by the same scribe who copied *P.Oxy.* 61.4110 (Thuc. 8.73), transmits Thuc. 6.2.2-3. More Thucydides (part of 7.86.3-4, 87.2) is preserved in **1591**, a re-edition of inv. 1862. It is noteworthy that at 1.8 the papyrus must have agreed with B against the rest of the tradition by reading δ]ιὰ (τοῦτο). **1592** is another re-edited piece that contains traces of seven lines of text from Thuc. 8.50.4-5.

1593 preserves three fragments that together with *PSI* 11.1197, fr. C and *P.Oxy.* 2.226 derive from a roll that contained book 6 of Xenophon's *Hellenica*. **1593** transmits parts of 6.2.28, 3.5-6, and 5.7-8. The same scribe also copied *PSI* 11.1197 fr. A-B (from a different bookroll of a similar format), containing Book 5. **1593** fr. b col. 1, l. 11 gives πρῶ]τοις against πρῶτος of all the codices. **1594** is a fragment from Xen. *Cyr.* 5.5.44-5. It agrees for the most part with the manuscripts of the γ family, while it presents a hitherto unattested variant in l. 12 (συνδόξη instead of συνδόξαι in all codices except the z family that offers συνδοκῇ). Lectional signs (accents, breathings, quantities, hyphens and *hypodiatolai*) were added at a later stage with different ink. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.2.6 is preserved on **1595**, which does not show any divergences from the manuscript tradition.

Three papyri containing Isocrates follow. **1596** preserves part of Isoc. *Ad Nic.* 16.3 and does not present any new variants. **1597** (which transmits part of *Paneg.* 58-9) and **1598** containing *Hel.* 11 are re-edited with minor improvements made possible through restorative work on the papyri and their examination under a microscope.

The following seven pieces contain fragments of Demosthenes. In **1599**, a fragment of Dem. *Ol.* 1.2-4, l. 4 may preserve in the form of correction a variant (χρήσασθαι) that is not attested elsewhere in the tradition. **1600** is a papyrus scrap containing a few letters from Dem. *Chers.* 31-2. Some letters from Dem. *Chers.* 51 (= *In Phil.* 4.27) are preserved in **1601**. A few letters, distributed over seven lines, are also preserved from *Cor.* 29 in **1602**. **1603** preserves part of *Adv. Lept.* 126 and is notable for the fact

² Johnson (n. 1) 31-32 and 64.

that a) it transmits in ll. 7-10 a different word order than that of the *paradosis* (πῶς οὐκ ἄσεβέστατον καὶ | δεινότατον ἔργον | πράξουσιν); and b) in l. 11 it transmits ἔμοιγε with F, in contrast to the entire *paradosis* that offers γοῦν ἐμοί. A few letters from Dem. *Adv. Lept.* 131, distributed over nine lines of text, are transmitted in **1604**. **1605** contains part of Dem. *In Andr.* 15. This fragment, which belongs together with PSI 11.1203, does not offer any variants with respect to the *paradosis*. **1606**, another re-edited text, preserves a fragment of Dem. *In Timocr.* 83-4; in l. 4 the papyrus offers the variant ἡνέχθη, which is to be rejected in favor of εἰσήχθη from the medieval *paradosis* and BKT 9.71, the other papyrus that (in part) transmits the same oration. The oldest testimony of Plu. *De coh. ira* (1, 452f) is **1607**, dated to the second century CE. Together with *P.Harrauer* 1 it attests the diffusion of Plutarch's works outside of mainland Greece even during the author's lifetime. No new readings are offered by this papyrus; of note are l. 7, where the text agrees with all the manuscripts (ἀφιστάντες) against L (ἐφιστάντες), and l. 8, where the word-order (πολλάκις τῇ κρίσει) agrees with G against the rest of the tradition (τῇ πολλάκις κρίσει). More Plutarch (*Quaest. Conv.* 4.660-71) is found in **1608**. The two new fragments published here (PSI inv. 1960, 1995 = **1608**, fr. 7-8) belong to the same roll as *P.Oxy.* 78.5156 fr. 1, PSI inv. 2055a, *P.Oxy.* 78.5156, fr. 2, *P.Oxy.* 28.2481, fr. 6, PSI inv. 2055b, and *P.Oxy.* 28.2481, fr. 7 (= **1608**, fr. 1-6, respectively). Fr. 8 now allows a reconstruction of the column distribution of the text, while the preservation of a title in col. i of the same fr. raises questions regarding the articulation of the text and the antiquity of the titles.

The remains of two columns from a work on the Ionic dialect are preserved in **1609**. The first column transmits the rules for the nominative and genitive singular endings of first-declension masculine nouns. The importance of this papyrus lies in the fact that the formulation of these rules can be shown to resemble closely those found in some Byzantine dialectological treatises (family II), which indicates that some of the rules found in these medieval treatises had already been formulated by the second century CE. The treatise to which these fragments belong may have discussed other dialects as well. **1610** contains two small fragments from what appears to be a *Logos Basilikos*, with a possible reference to the Tetrarchs and Diocletian. **1611** is too fragmentary to allow any certain identification; nevertheless, its editor carefully advances the hypothesis that it might be part of a commentary. Fragments from a parchment codex containing a doxographic account akin to the *placita philosophorum* wrongly attributed to Plutarch are transmitted in **1612**. The vocabulary

and the topics treated are reminiscent of Aristotle. The *recto* contains a discussion on the forms of generation that departs from that found in Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1032^a12-30, since it states that a τέχνη can generate plants or animals, which in Aristotle is possible only ἐκ φύσεως. On the *verso* we find part of a discussion on the αἷτια: l. 4-9 (or 10) contain the αἷτιον ποιητικόν and may have been preceded by the discussion of the αἷτιον εἰδικόν, with the ὕλικόν preceding at the end of the *recto* and the τελικόν following after l. 9 (or 10) of the *verso*; for these cf. Arist. *Ph.* 194^b23-35 = *Metaph.* 1013^a24-35.³ **1613** contains the fragment of another parchment codex. Titles or offices starting with ἀρχ- are listed from at least l. 6 of the *recto* on; the *verso* contains proper or place names beginning with β-. With the exception of l. 4 and 11 *verso* (possibly also l. 16 *recto*) the words appear in alphabetic order. Dots separate the columns in ll. 7-17 *verso*. The traces in ll. 1-5 *recto* and 12-17 *verso* appear to represent Coptic; also the word ἀρχήπλασμα (*recto*, l. 10) is attested only in a Coptic text. The text probably derives from an educational context, and it must have been an exercise or notes (explanations) following literary texts, some Greek and others Coptic. Fragments of two works concerning stenography are contained in **1614** and **1615**, a stenographic commentary and a stenographic glossary, respectively. Part of a glossary of words denoting body parts in Greek and Demotic is transmitted in **1616**. The section of the volume containing literary and paraliterary texts concludes with the re-edition of a wooden tablet inscribed with the letters of the Greek alphabet arranged vertically in six columns (**1617**).

Nos. **1618-1653** contain documentary texts. Of these **1618-1625** are from the Hermopolite nome and belong to the archive of the house of Kom Kassum, as is argued chiefly on paleographical and onomastic grounds. **1618** preserves the beginning of a petition by Nearchos son of Eudaimon from Hermopolis to Antammon, the *strategos* of the Hermopolite. **1619** and **1620** preserve parts of letters, **1620** being written on the *verso* of **1619**, probably as a short reply to it. The author of **1619** must be Eudaimon Sr. or Eudaimon Jr., son of Hermaios. Noteworthy in **1620** is the presence of a large letter resembling a Θ (double in size with respect to the rest of the writing) after the concluding ἔρρωσο; is it perhaps a monogram? **1621** is a register of (tax) payments, and **1622** is the beginning of a contract of purchase of land, which in l. 5 preserves a hitherto unattested place name of the Hermopolite (ἸΑννις). **1623** is a fragment of a receipt for the payment

³ On p. 137, at “in *Ph.* IX, p. 10, 35 -11,2 Diels” read “*cause matérielle*” after ὥς ἡ ὕλη.

of ἐκφόρια. The beginning of a private letter by Hermaios to his father Eudaimon containing the προσκύνημα-formula is transmitted in **1624**, while **1625** offers a private letter from Hermaios or Hermas, possibly belonging to the archive of Sarapion, in which the addressee asks the letter's author to send him hay for his cows.

Nos. **1626-1629** contain parts of petitions. In **1626** Antoninos Soterichos denounces in a petition (in the form of a *hypomnema*) to the *strategos* of the Themistos and Polemon districts of the Arsinoite nome some unknown characters who invaded his courtyard and treated him violently. Part of a *hypomnema* addressed to the *bibliophylakes* of Oxyrhynchus is preserved on **1627**. A fragment of a petition to the *praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia is transmitted on **1628**. In **1629** we have part of a petition to Flavius Ioseph, the πατήρ πόλεως of Oxyrhynchus, regarding some money owed to Aurelius Origenes by a certain Isak from the same city.

1630 contains fragments of minutes of official proceedings; given that a large portion of the text has been lost, it is impossible to reconstruct its contents. That we are dealing with minutes is suggested by the abbreviation εἰπ(). This may have been either a single sheet of papyrus written on both sides or may have formed part of a papyrus roll, the *verso* used when the scribe ran out of space on the *recto*. A document containing summaries/accounts pertaining to seven χρηματισμοί, in this case the transfer of real estate, is preserved in **1631**. This document has a previously unattested personal name (Τανγεῖνος, l. 6) and place name (Θέμις, l. 10). **1632** is a receipt for the payment of the *laographia*-tax, written by the same scribe as *P.Hamb.* 3.204-205 and *P.Harr.* 2.180-186, 189. **1633** contains an order to the *sitologoi* of the village Tholthis to transfer a quantity of barley from the private amount of a certain Apollonius *alias* Chosion to the *hydroparochoi* of Kerkeurosis. **1634** preserves part of a receipt of grain. On account of the mention of μέτρον παραλημπτικόν the document is thought to have been drafted in the Oxyrhynchite or Hermopolite. **1635**, written on the *recto* of **1627**, is the registration record of a slave purchase.

1636 contains a contract of lease between a monk from Oxyrhynchus and a carpet-weaver, who rented from the former two contiguous rooms and an *aithrion* at the Nemesios quarter, possibly to be used for conducting his trade. The beginning of a contract drafted in Oxyrhynchus is preserved in **1637**. The son's name of one of the contracting parties (Ioseph) and the name of the other party (Aurelia Sophia) are preserved, but nothing is known about the topic it concerned. A receipt for the payment in kind of ἐκφόρια is the content of **1638**. Part of another receipt, possibly

for the payment of salary in two installments by a *praktor* (?) named Philippos, is preserved on **1639**.

Two receipts from the dossier of the monastery of Apa Sabinos follow (**1640** and **1641**). In **1640** Horos acknowledges receipt of forty-five myriads for private use. **1641**, addressed to Ioulianos the *diakonetes*, acknowledges receipt of eighty-five *artabai* of grain; the first five (rather than six, as mentioned on p. 243) lines of the document were crossed out. **1642** contains a list of payments and **1643** an encrypted list of clothing items and foodstuffs. The title of the latter document is written in Latin (*Breuion []ation* = ἱματίων), while the letters of the alphabet are substituted as follows: (a) the letters from α to θ are substituted by their numerical values, but backwards (from 9 [θ] to 1 [α]), skipping 4 (δ) and supplying ζ instead; (b) the letters ι to π are substituted by the symbols of the decades, from 90 to 20, omitting 10 (ι) for which *koppa* is used; and (c) for ρ to ω 900 to 200 are used, replacing 100 (ρ) with *sampi*. The inclusion of perishable food items suggests that this list was not simply an inventory but a catalogue of items that were going to be shipped or, alternatively, that they were part of luggage to be taken on a journey along with provisions.

1644 is a report of grape harvest. It consists of two parts, of which the first contains incomplete notes, while the second is the final draft of the document; both parts were kept and joined by means of a connecting papyrus strip on the *verso*. The further interest of this piece lies in the occurrence of the terms φακτωνάριος (cf. πακτωνάριος ‘cargo boat’) and the hitherto unattested φαντωνάριον. **1645** contains a private letter, while **1646** (written on the *recto* of **1642**) transmits part of the beginning of a letter of a soldier of the *legio II Traiana fortis* to a certain Aurelius son of Apollonius of Oxyrhynchus. Of interest is the nomenclature of the legion (Τραϊανή, Γαλλιηνή?, Ουαλεριανή Ἰσχυρά). **1647** contains part of a business letter (its opening and conclusion are missing). Some workers, whose number and degree of specialization remain unclear, are asked to assist a previously named man. They are to send two *kraters* of wine to the mistress of the family (οἰκοδέσποινα), when they “open” (ἀνοιξ[ητε, l. 6) the χωρίον, presumably an enclosed plot of land in which the vineyard mentioned in the letter must have been located. The mention of water before the papyrus breaks off may hint at the instruction to the men to wash the implements used in the production of wine. An extremely fragmentary private letter is transmitted in **1648**. Of some interest is the presence of ἀποπληροῦν (l. 9) and πρυταν[(l. 10). **1649** is a note containing the wishes of a schoolmaster (Paulos, son of Silvanos) addressed

to a student of his who completed his studies. A fragment of a letter addressed to a *presbyteros* is preserved on **1650**. There are several errors and linguistic particularities, while little can be made of its contents. **1651** contains part of a letter of complaint for the failure of the delivery of some goods by the agreed upon deadline. In **1652** we have part of a business letter. Of interest is the abbreviation $\pi(\quad)$ at the beginning. Another business letter, in which a certain Phoibammon asks his brother to keep apart 50 *artabai* of grain is the content of **1653**; the letter also mentions the *speculatores*.

The usual set of indices rounds off the volume. These are followed by a series of appendices containing an updated list of the inventory numbers of all the *PSI* papyri published outside of the *PSI* series, the publications in which these editions appeared, a list of the editors of these texts, as well as an index of the identified literary authors and the libraries or museums housing the papyri edited in *PSI* 1-16. As expected, the editions are of high quality and the accompanying introductions and commentaries extremely illuminating.

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Iain Gardner, Anthony Alcock, and Wolf-Peter Funk, *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis, Volume 2: P. Kellis VII (P. Kellis Copt. 57-131)*. Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 16. Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow, 2014. 366 pages + 18 plates + CD-ROM. ISBN 978-1-78297-321-6.

This second volume of texts, translations, commentaries, and images from the well-known discoveries at Kellis completes the publication of Coptic documentary materials found there.¹ Taken together, these two volumes represent the vast majority of all fourth-century Coptic letters discovered to date. Moreover, the Coptic materials from Kellis offer different perspectives than most other extant Coptic letters, which are mostly related to monastic contexts. Scholars have already shown how these texts shed light on the Manichaean community in Kellis, affording “a unique insight into the social and economic relations of a sectarian group within a Late Antique village” (14).² The introductions and commentaries on the new volume’s materials also supplement our historiography by “redressing the imbalance caused by reading the history of fourth-century Egypt from [only] Greek, male, urban or monastic sources Here there is a voice for the indigenous population, women are very visible, and the experience of life on the (supposed) periphery, i.e., the Oasis and the village, weighs against the preponderance of sources from metropolitan centres and seats of authority, whether ecclesiastical or secular” (15).

The volume is excellently produced, reliable in transcription and translation, and user-friendly. Its introduction is a bit short (12 pages) but does address a number of questions and difficulties raised by the collection: writing surfaces, Greek-Coptic bilingualism, determination of genre, indicators of Manichaeism, the relatively abundant presence of women in the documents, and the perhaps related focus on textile production in Kellis. The editors confidently date most of the materials to the quarter century from 355-380 CE, while the half century from 340 – 390 CE would cover a few outliers from one part of the site (“Group 3”). The relatively limited time frame “gives a satisfying and rather tight chronological context, and one that corresponds to broader historical changes during the decades leading up to the accession of Theodosius” (6).

¹ The first volume is I. Gardner, A. Alcock, and W.-P. Funk, *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis, Volume 1: P. Kellis V (P. KellisCopt. 10-52; O. KellisCopt. 1-2)*, Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 9 (Oxford 1999).

² Cf. J.-D. Dubois, “Greek and Coptic Documents from Kellis: A Contribution to the History of a Manichaean Community,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 15 (2013) 21-28.

Each of the 75 entries contains inventory number, location of discovery, details about the state of preservation, a short summary of content, a list of personal names therein, Coptic text, English translation, and commentary on matters of restoration, orthography, syntax, or vocabulary. The book's back matter includes selected plates and a CD-ROM of photographs for all items, along with abundant indices (with individual Coptic words translated even in the index, for the sake of those consulting the book without lexica at hand).

Many who use this collection will do so in order to study Manichaeism in Egypt. Both volumes include "authors who expressed their Manichaean faith explicitly" along with those whose Manichaean "connection" can be inferred from certain terms or phrases.³ Though there are fewer Manichaean letters overall in volume 2, the "prize letter" of the collection is written by "the Teacher" (61), whom the editors reasonably interpret as "the leader of the Manichaean community in Egypt" (29).⁴ While the content of the letter is not especially memorable, the sender's identity is noteworthy and fills out the collection of Manichean documents from Kellis.

Other groupings of texts show familial relationships that can be fairly well understood in conjunction with the prosopography of the Coptic materials in volume 1 and the Greek papyri from Kellis. As with most familial letters from the period, the authors are primarily concerned with news about health (or its loss), the sending of goods (and complaints about goods that did not arrive), requests about relatives (or demands that relatives be dispatched), fretting about untrustworthy couriers, and other details of business. Yet amid these quotidian domestic and economic matters, there are flashes of spiritual language that distinguish some of the letters from other documentary papyri of the period. For example, the letters of Pamour and Maria are primarily concerned with setting the price for certain commodities and other business dealings, but they also include invocations to "the Father, the God of truth" to keep the author(s) "healthy in the body, flourishing in the soul, and rejoicing in spirit, safe from all the temptations of Satan and the adversities of the evil place" (71, cf. 65). At the same time, a letter of condolence from Philammon to Theognostos, concerning

³ On the challenges of determining religious identity of authors and recipients in documentary papyri, see M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Turnhout 2006).

⁴ Covered earlier in I. Gardner, "A Letter from the Teacher: Some Comments on Letter-Writing and the Manichaean Community of IVth Century Egypt," in L. Painchaud and P.-H. Poirier (eds.), *Coptica – Gnostica – Manichaica. Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk* (Louvain 2006) 317-323.

a death in the family, does not display any particularly spiritual sensibility about salvation or hope for resurrection, where we might expect it (80, cf. 115).

Overall, the Coptic archive from Kellis is impressive for its state of preservation (with many almost complete letters), the distinctive religious content of its materials, the abundant number of female senders and recipients (about 40% of the letters include a woman's name), and the relatively secure date of the collection. With volume 2 of the collection, the editors have completed a signal contribution to the field of Coptic papyrology and the history of fourth-century Egypt.

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Malcolm Choat and Iain Gardner, *The Macquarie Papyri I: A Coptic Handbook of Ritual Power (P. Macq. I 1)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013. xiv + 146 pages and CD-ROM. ISBN 978-2-503-53170-0.

In *A Coptic Handbook of Ritual Power* Malcolm Choat and Iain Gardner provide an edition of a lengthy invocation that is accompanied by drawings and twenty-seven different prescriptions or spells. In total, these (Sahidic) Coptic texts comprise sixteen pages and are preserved in a twenty-page parchment codex that was acquired by the Museum of Ancient Cultures at Macquarie University (Sydney) in 1981.

The edition begins with forty some pages of introduction. They first thoroughly describe the parchment codex itself. After briefly detailing the acquisition of the codex, Choat and Gardner provide an insightful discussion of the codicological features of the object that includes a diagram of how the codex was assembled as well as a discussion of the binding. This is followed by a detailed assessment of the paleography, date, and provenance of the codex as well as its dialect and orthography. Recognizing some of the inherent problems with Coptic paleography, Choat and Gardner judiciously date the codex to the seventh or eighth century CE and cautiously propose that the dialect suggests an origin in Upper Egypt in the vicinity of Hermopolis.

The introduction next seeks to explain and situate the different texts preserved in the codex. The principal ritual text of the codex, which forms a distinct unit and occupies the first twelve pages, is generically identified as the “Invocations Text” by Choat and Gardner. It begins with an invocation to the mysterious Baktiotha, but also invokes a host of diverse figures that include Abrasax, Jesus, Abraham, Moses, and David as well as various angels and archangels and *nomina barbara*. To help elucidate this rather enigmatic invocation Choat and Gardner compare it to ms. British Library Or. 5987 (= *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.1008) and P.Berol. inv. 5527 (= *BKU* 1.23) because they include a number of distinct parallels. Even though these two texts are considerably shorter, it is clear that they emanated from a similar milieu as they share distinct terminology and phraseology and also begin with an invocation to Baktiotha.

As part of this analysis Choat and Gardner further note that portions of the “Invocations Text” manifest distinct Christian elements, which lead them to cautiously speculate that a monastic context is a logical candidate for the production of the text. Yet they are quick to point out that the text appears to have undergone various recensions and that Christian elements appear to overlay earlier elements. Therefore, they postulate that

underneath the later Christian accretions is an earlier “‘more gnostic’ original” (p. 31), but admit that there are terminological and theoretical problems with such a categorization. Consequently, they identify some of the latent features of the text as Sethian and proceed to point out various parallels that the text shares with Sethianism in terms of its general cosmology. This is of course quite significant as it is thought that Sethianism had effectively died out centuries earlier.

From here, the discussion and analysis shifts from the “Invocations Text” to the twenty-seven numbered prescriptions that follow and stretch from the end of page twelve through page sixteen in the codex. According to Choat and Gardner the “Invocations Text” was at some point combined with a set of ritual prescriptions and a new product was brought about, that is, the ritual handbook. Thus, by combining the “Invocations Text” with the prescriptions the handbook became, “a more complete instrument of ritual power.” The twenty-seven spells at the end of the handbook are generally quite pithy and cover a wide range of purposes. A number of the spells deal with cures for maladies, and include demonic possession, sickness, warts, spleen problems, or the staunching of blood. While some of these prescriptions are strictly material as they instruct the practitioner to apply or ingest a particular substance (oil, wine, water, rose oil, and so on), others stipulate that some ritual act is to be performed or some verbal invocation is to be uttered.

The edition of the text that follows the lengthy introduction is skillfully presented and there is a facing English translation on the opposite page. On page twelve of the codex there are a series of drawings that take up most of the page and in the transcription these are skillfully reproduced with the Coptic carefully inserted at various places so as to reproduce as well as possible the appearance of the actual codex page; the same is done for the English translation. Following the transcription and translation Choat and Gardner provide a “Continuous Translation” of the text followed by a line-by-line commentary. This is followed by two appendices where a new transcription (and translation) is given for ms. British Library Or. 5987 and P.Berol. inv. 5527 and then a series of comprehensive indices. The book concludes with photographic plates of the parchment codex in color and there is also a CD-ROM in the back cover that includes high-resolution digital images.

Choat and Gardner have produced an exemplary edition, and this volume has much to offer beyond the presentation of a previously unpublished text. The depth and breadth of the scholarship found in this volume will surely make it attractive to many working on texts of “ritual power”

(that is, magic) because it synthesizes such a wide range of scholarship and advances the discussion in various ways. Power words, esoteric terms and phrases, and enigmatic figures are treated with proficiency and depth, and previous scholarship is succinctly presented and treated. This is certainly the case with the discussion of the mysterious figure Baktiotha, who is invoked at the start of the text; while the conclusions reached by Choat and Gardner might not appear convincing to everyone, every effort was made to elucidate this figure. On this latter point it may be noted that when suggestions are put forward regarding some aspect of the text that is not entirely certain or is open to alternative points of view, Choat and Gardner, to their credit, advance such suggestions with caution and restraint.

Another strength of this volume that will certainly appeal to many is the number of parallels from other texts that are constantly invoked throughout to help elucidate a reading or some feature of the text. Choat and Gardner are to be commended for the thorough treatment of this text and the copious parallels they provide. On this front their new editions of ms. British Library Or. 5987 and P.Berol. inv. 5527 in the appendices are certainly welcome as they improve upon previous editions. Additionally, having access to high-resolution digital images of the codex via the enclosed CD-ROM will be beneficial to many who want to take a closer look at the text.

Despite the many exemplary features of the overall edition, there are a couple of places where some improvement could still be made. For example, the series of drawings on page twelve of the codex could probably have been given a little more explanation and analysis in the commentary and the reference to "Antioch" in the "Invocations Text," the only toponym mentioned in the entire treatise, could have benefitted from more discussion. Nevertheless, these are fairly minor points and overall this is an exemplary edition both in terms of its contents and overall aesthetic presentation. Because of the way Choat and Gardner examine and clearly present these texts both scholar and student will certainly be able to glean much from this useful volume.

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Lincoln H. Blumell

James G. Keenan, J.G. Manning, and Uri Yiftach-Firanko (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest: A Selection of Papyrological Sources in Translation with Introductions and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. xxix + 598 pages. ISBN 978-0-521-87452-6.

This volume offers a source-based introduction to the world of legal papyrology. The goal is twofold: to integrate the study of legal papyri into the wider field of ancient history and to introduce legal historians of other periods to this rich body of source material. With both broad thematic overviews and in-depth discussions of individual texts, this work is a landmark achievement and a much-needed guide to the intricacies of law and legal practice in Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Egypt.

The volume consists of ten chapters, including an introduction and nine thematic chapters in which 221 documents are translated and discussed. Each thematic chapter opens with a jointly-authored introduction before individual authors discuss particular topics pertaining to the broader theme. In order to cover as much ground as possible, the editors enlisted the support of 33 scholars, in addition to their own substantial contributions. Since the contributing scholars were given free rein to address their respective topics, the volume is marked by a diverse array of styles, ranging from essay-like to encyclopedic.

The introductory chapter contains a brief historical sketch of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, and a longer overview of the key legal developments during this time. Sandwiched in between is a section devoted to the historiography of legal papyrology, from L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken's *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie* volumes to the more recent work of H.J. Wolff and P.W. Pestman in the respective fields of Greek and Demotic law. With the exception of a brief reference to ongoing research based on papyrus archives, this section misses the opportunity to highlight current projects in the field and their possible impact. Overall, the introduction treads ground familiar to the papyrologist (as one would expect), but students and newcomers to the field will find here a handy guide to the development of the legal papyrology and its key areas of research.

Chapter two concentrates on how the “form, content, and administration of legal documents” developed over the millennium of Egyptian history covered by the volume. This topic has been one of U. Yiftach-Firanko's key areas of research, and he accordingly provides a well-informed summary of the evolution of certain types of Greek contracts in Egypt (2.1),

amply illustrated by 11 documents.¹ Next come shorter sections devoted to describing the key Demotic contract types (sales, cessions, and loans) and Greek loans (2.2-2.5). T. Kruse then provides a guide to the key sources on archives and registration procedures in Roman Egypt (2.6).² The closing section by T.S. Richter is nominally devoted to Byzantine sales but is actually a more wide-ranging discussion of the form and style of contracting in Late Antique Egypt – both in Coptic and in Greek – including remarks on the rhetorical quality of Byzantine records, which the author insists must be connected “to contemporary social realities.”

Chapter three is headed “The Languages of the Law” but tackles a wider array of topics than the title implies. In 3.1, K. Vandorpe provides an accessible overview of the Dryton archive, whose depth and variety provide one of the rare opportunities to peek behind the veil of Ptolemaic legal ethnicity and attempt to grasp the complexity of ethnic identity in this period. In the next section, Brian Muhs draws on his extensive experience with the legal environment of early Roman Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtynis to introduce three bilingual contracts. Roman law in Egyptian documents is the subject of a skillfully-constructed contribution from J.G. Keenan, headed by the famous will of C. Longinus Castor. Keenan uses a series of documents produced in the context of Roman law to illustrate the “implications of the will itself, in effect constituting a commentary on the will.” Finally, in another essay-like and engaging section, Richter examines the socio-linguistics of Greek and Coptic in the Byzantine period, taking a thematic rather than a document-based approach.

Chapter four focuses on family law, with sections on marriage, divorce, Romanization, the category of “fatherless” persons, deeds of last will, and intestate succession. The chapter opens with a nod towards family archives, but not much use is made of them here. Following a short section on marriage contracts, J. Urbanik offers a lengthy discussion of divorce, which discusses the normality of divorce, the format of divorce settlements, and the relationship between practices found in the papyri versus imperial legislation. The selection of documents, mostly of the Byzantine period, includes not only settlements themselves, but also petitions and a courtroom speech. A. Arjava’s section on Romanization focuses on guardianship and *patria potestas* and includes a variety of documents from the transitional third century CE.

¹ The author notes the omission of bank contracts (*diagrapheis*) and Alexandrian *synchoreseis* from his discussion but does give a reason.

² Note the new interpretation of the εἰκονισταὶ in 2.6.1 (= *P.Oxy.* 1.34 v°); see M. Depauw, “Physical Descriptions, Registration and εἰκονίζειν with New Interpretations for P. Par. 65 and P. Oxy. I 34,” *ZPE* 176 (2011) 189-199.

Chapter five concentrates on contracts of loan under the general heading of “capital management.” The first section, by the late T. Markiewicz, is devoted to an overview of the Egyptian tradition of loan documents (5.1), which is complemented by Vandorpe’s discussion of Greek loans of the Ptolemaic period (5.2). Next, F. Lerouxel draws on his recent body of work to introduce a diverse set of loan documents from the Roman period. Noteworthy here is the inclusion of a private letter – an underexploited type of document in this volume – in which a son writes to his mother about the repayment of a debt and the redemption of pawned clothing. The next and longest section of this chapter is H.-A. Rupprecht’s overview of real security in the papyri. As Rupprecht notes, our understanding of real security (and other aspects of Greek law) is hindered by a lack of theoretical precision in the Greek legal tradition, but this did not thwart the development of a complex legal tradition and set of practices shaped largely by “documentary scribes who were able to deal directly with the changing requirements of economic life,” rather than jurists (5.4). Of great service in this section is Rupprecht’s detailed exposition of the procedures for execution against a debtor’s property, which draws on *BGU* 14.2376 (5.4.6).³ The final section brings together a group of documents that are technically loans, but which most scholars agree served other purposes: e.g. antichretic arrangements, whereby the occupation of a building or use of land is granted in lieu of interest, or the so-called *paramone* contract, which provides for personal service to the creditor. Only one document in this chapter is later than the third century CE, and Byzantine-period developments only receive brief mention in the introduction.

Chapter six moves to the realm of sale, with a full array of documents from the early Ptolemaic period to the Byzantine and even Islamic period. The introduction includes brief remarks on the evolution of Egyptian sales and the form and content of sales in the Greco-Roman period. M. Depauw and J.G. Manning introduce the distinctive Demotic “sale” and “cession” document types, which could be used flexibly for a range of transactions (6.1 and 6.2). É. Jakab then turns to the different forms of Greek sales of real property, including agoranomic instruments, *grapheion* contracts, and *cheirographa*. Not mentioned is the fact that the sale of a house 6.3.2 (= *P.Oxy.* 4.719.13-29) is embedded within an application for registration (δημοσίωσις) of the deed in the Archive of Hadrian in Alexandria. The next section moves on to sales of movables, with R.S. Bagnall rightly questioning the motivation for drawing up such documents, which is not

³ For a late witness to this procedure, see now P. Heilporn, A. Martin, N. Sojic, and N. Vanthieghem, “Papyrus du Musée du Caire. VIII,” *CdE* 89 (2014) 113-123 (no. 19).

always apparent. Another peculiarity is the near absence of such documents from the Ptolemaic period, a bias most likely due to uneven survival of the evidence rather than indicative of underlying developments. Included in this section are five sales of animals (6.4.1-5) and three more unusual sales: of a loom, a dining couch, and wood (6.4.6-8). Before moving to later periods, Yiftach-Firanko offers an overview of the *katagraphe*, or state registration of sales, a procedure which the Ptolemies inherited from rapidly-evolving Greek legal practice of the fourth century BCE. Each document in this section is explained in detail and well contextualized. 6.5.1 is confusingly titled “sale of land,” even though the author of this section makes it abundantly clear that the contract itself was not a conveyance (cf. also 6.5.3); “agreement to sell” would be more appropriate. Finally, Richter collects a group of sales in Greek, Coptic, and Arabic spanning the sixth through eleventh centuries CE.

Chapter seven turns to the topic of leases, which are preserved in abundance from all periods under discussion – about 1,500 in Greek alone, to which can be added over 40 Demotic contracts on papyrus, 60 Coptic leases, and 62 Arabic leases, not to mention rent receipts and other documents that offer further evidence. The introduction to this chapter is the most in-depth of the volume and provides an excellent orientation to the historical development of leasing arrangements in Egypt. The corpus of Demotic leases is given a thorough treatment by C.J. Martin, with discussion of the documents’ key features and circumstances under which they were drawn up, along with four examples. Although somewhat out of place in this chapter, the next section, by D.J. Thompson, nicely illustrates the transition from limited tenure to full ownership of cleruchic land.⁴ Greek leases of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods are abundantly illustrated by eleven documents introduced by J. Rowlandson and R. Takahashi. These include straightforward leases of land but also documents that demonstrate the flexibility of the Greek *misthosis*, such as the earliest *misthapoche* (7.3.8 = *P.Turner* 25) and the lease of a pottery (7.3.10 = *P.Oxy.* 50.3597). Richter closes the chapter with a selection of Greek, Coptic, and Arabic leases from the seventh to tenth centuries. While Coptic leases are closely modeled on their Greek counterparts, Arabic leases evince a much different tradition, which comes to eventually influence

⁴ On 7.2.5 (*P.Haun*, inv. 407), see now K. Ryholt, “A Greek-Demotic Temple Archive from Edfu Dating to the Reign of Ptolemy VIII,” *ZPE* 190 (2014) 173-187, and D.J. Thompson and K. Vandorpe, “Prostima-Fines and Crop-Control under Ptolemy VIII. BGU VI 1420 Reconsidered in the Light of the New Schubart-Column to P. Haun. inv. 407,” *ZPE* 190 (2014) 188-198.

Coptic contracts as well (7.4.7 = *P.Lond.Copt* 1.487). Noteworthy in some leases of this period is reference to verbal arrangements that complemented the sparse terms of the written contract (7.4.2 = *O.Crum Ad.* 15; 7.4.7 = *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.487).

The subject of the following chapter is labor, or rather “the contractual relationship between laborers and employers.” Oral or customary arrangements are obviously much more difficult to track in the surviving record, although it is not quite true that they “escape us entirely” – private accounts, for instance, give us some insight into the tasks and remuneration of day laborers. Nevertheless, the world of written contracts, even if it represents a small slice of all labor arrangements, is rich and varied. Ptolemaic labor contracts (8.1.1, S. von Reden) generally concern agricultural work, although the contract for the manufacture of a wagon yoke and a basket is an interesting outlier (8.1.2 = *P.Corn.* 4). A. Jördens’ selections from the Roman and Byzantine material include contracts for vineyard irrigation, labor in an oil mill, tending pigs, transporting manure, making tapestries, wet-nursing, and flute-playing during the vintage. The liturgical demands of the Roman state could even be contracted out, as 8.2.7 = *P.Oxy.* 38.2859 illustrates. A special case of dependent labor, the Oxyrhynchite *enapographoi georgoi (coloni adscripticii)* of the Byzantine period, is well presented by B. Haug with four examples, including a Roman contract that anticipates some of the features of the later labor arrangements (8.3.1 = *P.Oxy.* 14.1692).

Slavery is the topic of chapter nine. The Ptolemaic section (9.1, R. Scholl) focuses on state regulations concerning slaves and includes excerpts of civic laws and royal decrees regarding registration of house-born slaves and taxes to be paid on sales of slaves. J.A. Straus highlights continuities in the Roman period but notes that the Romans’ new status divisions directly affected slaves, who followed the status of their master (thus a slave of a metropolite would be charged a lower poll tax than a free villager in the same nome). The selected documents illustrate some standard administrative procedures regarding status, the *anakrisis* to determine slave status before sale and the *epikrisis* needed to admit a slave into the privileged fiscal group of his master, as well as an interesting household arrangement in which a free woman and a slave have three children together. Y. Rotman argues for the continued importance of Egyptian slavery into the Byzantine period, in line with K. Harper’s recent monograph.⁵ The documents selected, including the famous case of Martha in

⁵ K. Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World, AD 275-425* (Cambridge 2011).

sixth-century Aphrodito (9.3.3 = *SB* 18.13274), offer an intimate and emotional look at the blurry boundary between freedom and slavery in the Byzantine period.

The final chapter examines “the relationship between state institutions and the administration of justice.” The judicial systems of Egypt are marked by their diversity: no ruler attempted to unify the diverse set of laws governing the land, settling rather for clarification and expansion. Ptolemaic contributions to law were mainly in the realm of fiscal and administrative matters, supplemented by the common law of Greeks, Egyptians, and other social groups (*politeumata* are discussed in 10.2). J.M. Modrzejewski illustrates various stages of judicial action before the *chrematistai* (royal judges) and discusses the famous royal order demarcating their jurisdiction from that of the native judges (*laokritai*) (10.1.4 = *P.Tebt.* 1.5.207-220). B. Palme provides an excellent overview of legal proceedings under the Romans, a topic much in need of a new synthesis. The selected texts highlight the variety of officials, both civilian and military, who could be granted authority to conduct a trial, and each is preceded by a detailed introduction. In order to illustrate criminal procedure in the Roman period, Keenan constructs a “virtual” case through the compilation of documents stemming from different stages of a complaint, from the petition to a hearing before a magistrate. The intermediate stages are represented by an application for medical examination, a doctor’s report, and warrants. This artificial dossier is instructive as to procedures, but, as Keenan notes, does not reflect the balance of evidence, which comes mostly from petitions. In the final two sections, G. Schmelz and C. Kotsifou discuss the role of clerics and monks as judicial arbiters and mediators.

The back materials include a concordance of texts translated, a short reading list of introductions to papyrology in English, a fairly extensive glossary of technical terms, and bibliography. A subject index is lacking, which is only partially compensated for by the detailed table of contents. An *index locorum* of texts discussed but not translated would also have been helpful.

Difficult editorial decisions come with a volume of this magnitude. Certainly, the “legal practice” of the volume’s title takes precedence over “law.” On the whole, contracts comprise the great bulk of evidence that the editors draw upon to demonstrate “how people used legal texts in ‘negotiating daily life’” (p. XXII). The limited inclusion of state regulations is justified on the grounds that the editors wish to deal “less with the normative than with the actual functioning of law on the ground” (p. 4). Even within the category of “legal practice,” however, sacrifices had to

be made. The relatively few reports of legal proceedings are surprising, since this was surely the most dramatic display of how law functioned “on the ground.” Reasons of space, however, kept the editors away from famous cases like the trial of Hermias, despite its being “one of the most remarkable legal documents from the pre-modern world” (1.5, p. 19), and we must presume that similar reasons prevented a full discussion of the extraordinary nine-column petition of Dionysia.⁶ Petitions and reports of legal proceedings, moreover, are often among the most complex and difficult documents, and for this reason alone their presence in greater numbers is missed.

The thematic and document-oriented approach also prevents much engagement with family archives, with the notable exception of the Dryton archive, mentioned above. For example, two documents from the archive of the auxiliary soldier C. Iulius Apollinarius (Trismegistos, archID 566) are discussed without revealing that they form part of a larger group of texts (4.2.1 and 5.5.4). Somewhat related to this issue is the longstanding problem of defining the socio-economic position of those encountered in the papyri. Terms such as “middle class” and “simple people” are used without definition and perhaps even without much reflection. Hickey has warned of the “treacherous ... perception (probably enhanced by the immediacy of the texts) that papyri give access to the ‘masses’ or to ‘ordinary people.’”⁷ Certainly there would be no way to get all the contributors to agree on this point, but the editors could have signaled the problem to readers in the introduction.

Some ideas are presented with more precision than the evidence warrants. In 2.1.3, for instance, we read “after the reform of 125 BC, the *grapheion* official became involved in the composition of the document itself,” which eventually lead to “the reform of AD 14” introducing the Roman *grapheion* contract. One would be forgiven for thinking that we must have evidence of decrees or official instructions regarding such reforms (like the instructions for registering Demotic documents, *P.Par.* 65), but we do not.⁸ Similarly, in Kruse’s discussion of archives,

⁶ *P.Oxy.* 2.237 (after 27 June 186 CE). The embedded edict of Mettius Rufus is discussed and translated in 2.6.2, while other references can be found in the introduction to Chapter 3 (pp. 97 and 99), in 4.2 (p. 161), and 4.3 (p. 181).

⁷ T. Hickey, “Papyrology,” in E. Jeffreys and J. Haldon (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford 2009) 123.

⁸ Earlier, the phrasing is more reserved: “c. 125 BC” (2.1.1) or “around 125 BCE” (2.1.2). The notion of a Ptolemaic reform ca. 125 stems from Yiftach-Firanko’s convincing analysis of contract diplomatics in an important 2008 article, which is oddly not cited in this discussion: U. Yiftach-Firanko, “Who Killed the Double Document in Ptolemaic Egypt?” *APF* 54 (2008) 203–218. The supposed “reform of AD 14” also stems from this article, but

we read that the Nanaion, a central record office in Alexandria, was established in the reign of Augustus (2.6.1, p. 66), while on the previous page it was admitted that we lack unequivocal data about the founding of the archives in Alexandria.

Errors of fact are few. There was no “abrogation” of priestly privileges at the beginning of the Roman period (1.2), since qualified priests were free from the poll tax and the dike corvée, but rather a series of restrictions on temple personnel and revenue. In 6.4 it is stated that there are no sales of granite millstones, but *P.Athen.* 25 and *P.Mich.* 9.550 record such transactions. Typos generally do not impinge on one’s understanding of the text.

These quibbles and more substantive criticisms should not detract from the overall success of the volume, which will have a place in the classroom and scholars’ shelves for a long time to come.

Appendix: E-Reading

I read this volume partially in its print version, partially as an E-book on a Kindle Fire HDX, and offer here some comments on the latter reading experience. The E-book, it should be pointed out immediately, is not distinguished from its print counterpart in any substantive way, such as through new or expanded content. Even some straightforward advantages of the digital format are left unexploited. Hyperlinking, for instance, is only used internally between sections and documents in the book, and not to external data (e.g. one still finds “image at Papyri.info” rather than a link to the record), and the handful of images accompanying the volume have the same low quality as the print version. While the print version distinguishes translated documents by a slight indent, the E-book offers no visual clue that the author’s introduction has ended and the document itself has begun. Finally, the publisher did not provide page number equivalents, perhaps less of an issue for a handbook with minute partitions into sections and subsections, but still a hindrance to citation. The primary advantages of the E-book are the ability to search through the volume and its portability.

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the diplomatic changes mentioned both here and in the article – the disappearance of the inner script, witnesses, and *syngraphophylax* – are already evident in most *grapheion* contracts from Augustus’ reign.

Lincoln H. Blumell and Thomas A. Wayment, *Christian Oxyrhynchus: Texts, Documents, and Sources*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2015. xxi + 756 pages. ISBN 978-1-60258-539-3.

Oxyrhynchus and its papyri have attracted sustained interest since their discovery in the early twentieth century. Various monographs on the city have been published,¹ and countless articles have appeared in different venues. Above all, the annual publication of volumes with Oxyrhynchus papyri in the *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* of the Egypt Exploration Society has continued to provide scholars and students with an astonishing array of texts.

Rather than being an interpretative essay on the rise of Christianity in Oxyrhynchus, the volume here reviewed is a sourcebook relying on the abovementioned tradition of studies, which the two authors demonstrate to know in depth. It brings together 175 texts from earlier publications and for each gives extensive bibliography, an introduction, the Greek text, a translation (if appropriate), and notes commenting on the important aspects of the text involved. Overall this is a handy and helpful publication, which can be used not only for teaching purposes, but also for introducing Oxyrhynchus and its papyri to readers from various disciplines. As the authors rightly point out, the importance of Christian Oxyrhynchus as a case study and the dispersion of Christian papyri in sometimes hard-to-find publications made their enterprise worthwhile.

With regard to the organization of the sources, the volume follows a traditional approach in terms of both categories (Christian vs. non-Christian; canonical vs. extra-canonical, literary vs. documentary) and periodization (up to and including the fourth century CE, with a few exceptions from the fifth). The texts included are divided into three larger sections: “Christian Literary Papyri from Oxyrhynchus,” nos 1-105 (subdivided into *New Testament Texts*, *Extracanonial Texts* and *Other Christian Literary Texts*), “Documentary Papyri and Christianity at Oxyrhynchus,” nos 106-162 (opened with *Decian libelli*, followed by *Christian References in Third-Century Documentary Texts*, *Christian References in Fourth-Century Documentary Texts*, and *Letters Written by Christians from the Third and Fourth Centuries*), and finally a generalist (and thinner) section, “Patristic, Coptic, and Other Sources on Christians and Christianity at Oxyrhynchus,”

¹ E.g., P.J. Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish: Greek Lives in Roman Egypt* (London 2007); A. Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge, MA 2008).

nos 163-175, collecting the main literary sources on the establishment of Christianity in the city and its territory. The volume is opened by a brief introduction (pp. 1-16) where the authors outline the history of the city and its archaeological discovery, then describe the quality of the material collected, and explain the criteria and aims that guided their choices. Given the variety of topics discussed in the book, I will focus only on those that I found either problematic or interesting.

As mentioned above, the book looks at the Oxyrhynchus evidence in a traditional way, and in so doing does not really add particularly innovative interpretations. As an example let us consider the opening remarks in the section "Christian Literary Papyri from Oxyrhynchus" (pp. 17-20). The discussion rightly emphasizes the extraordinary number and quality of early Christian literary texts coming from the site, but does not attempt to give any explanation of the reasons why this is the case. Readers – especially those who are not specialists of Egypt and papyri – are left with unanswered questions: was Oxyrhynchus the most Christian town of Egypt? Does the amount of evidence have to do with the archaeology of the finds? Or is there any other possible account for Oxyrhynchus being so different from other Egyptian sites?

It should also be added that because of how the book is structured, the literary Christian material is isolated from other, non-Christian evidence and this could generate the false impression that early Christians too were separated from the surrounding non-Christian society, which is far from true. Moreover, I wonder what a reader would think, if, after reading this book, she goes through the Greek and Egyptian late antique magical papyri: how would one explain the mixture of practices and texts found in that material in the light of the literary Christian papyri as presented by Blumell and Wayment? Although mostly dated to a later period than that considered by the two authors, this evidence is actually based on more ancient traditions, and in this respect the fourth century as a chronological limit poses a problem, if the aim is to enable the readers to fully understand the early Christian Egyptian environment. Again, how do we explain the later emergence of Christian magical papyri? Does it reflect a "development" in practices and beliefs? Or is this again a distortion of the sources due to the nature of the finds?

The section introduction for the Christian literary papyri also does not address the current debate about the perils of using palaeography as an unproblematic and secure method for attributing dates to manuscripts when no other dating criterion is available. In the last decade papyrologists and students of early Christianity have debated the problematical methods used

in the palaeographical dating of Christian literary papyri, especially in light of the abuses the earliest copies of the Bible receive in the popular press.² It is unfortunate that the authors have not fully engaged with some works that they cite on this topic.³ This said, it is certainly useful to have the selected literary papyri reprinted in one volume with up-to-date bibliography and notes.

The documentary section includes texts that are traditionally considered as the earliest references to Christianity from Oxyrhynchus. I found the choice of including the Decian *libelli*, introduced by sensible remarks based on recent bibliography, appropriate and again useful in view of the targeted audience. This section made me think about a number of questions, so I am really grateful to the authors. For one thing, were I to read this section without any knowledge of other evidence, I would be led to conclude that early Christians in Oxyrhynchus were well behaved men and women following their bishops and doing what normative Christian leaders would have expected in terms of practices and beliefs. The image this section conveys is therefore far from the diversified and not fully “orthodox” community depicted by Christian authors of the period considered. Again, some interesting questions arise: how do we reconcile the two pictures? Why do Manicheans, Gnostics, and others seem to be mostly absent from the documentary evidence here collected? If we read the sources carefully, including pagan philosophers such as Alexander of Lycopolis, uniformity does not seem a typical quality of early Christianity. At the end of the third century, Alexander defines Christianity as a very basic philosophy, mainly concerned with ethical preoccupations, and divided in many sects among which the Manicheans, in his view, were the most unreasonable (*Contra Man.* 1-2). Not to mention the Christian anti-heretical literature starting more or less in the same period. How do Blumell and Wayment explain the discrepancies between extant papyri and contemporary literary sources? As for the Manicheans, a sentence in the general introduction (p. 13) shows that the authors believe that they were not Christian, a statement that should have been more carefully argued since this is not

² E.g., B. Nongbri, “The Use and Abuse of P52: Papyrological Pitfalls in the Dating of the Fourth Gospel,” *Harvard Theological Review* 98 (2005) 23-48; W. Clarysse and P. Orsini, “Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their dates: A critique of Theological Palaeography,” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 88/4 (2012) 443-474 is absent from the bibliography.

³ E.g., K. Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford 2000); R.S. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt* (Princeton 2009), esp. chapter 1.

the opinion of all modern scholarship, and more importantly of ancient authors, such as the one just mentioned.

Moving to another issue, as Blumell has very well shown in his volume dedicated to early Christian letters and education,⁴ it is often difficult to decide if writers and addressees of private correspondence were Christian or not. The notes added to explain key terminology occurring in the papyri collected in this section are intelligent and well-informed discussions of formularies and words, which have been taken as Christian identity markers by previous and current scholarship; see, e.g., ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφός discussed at **130** (*P.Alex.* 29), note on line 2, belonging to the dossier of Sotas, bishop of Oxyrhynchus. In this respect, these re-editions really are a precious tool for all those who are going to work on this material in the future. They present different interpretations and views, providing full and easy access to the current state of the question.

To conclude: although the book is not particularly innovative in the choice of topics and texts and in the way it organizes the sources, it certainly is an invaluable teaching and research tool, apart from being a solid introduction to the early Christian papyri from Oxyrhynchus.

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⁴ L.H. Blumell, *Lettered Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus* (Leiden 2012).

Yanne Broux, *Double Names and Elite Strategy in Roman Egypt*. *Studia Hellenistica* 54. Leuven: Peeters, 2015. viii + 317 pages. ISBN 978-90-429-3125-1.

The central argument of this book is that the two elements of the title belong together; that is, for the most part double names of the most common type, expressed with PN ὁ/ἡ καὶ PN, form for two centuries an element in the self-representation of the elites of the *metropoleis* of Roman Egypt. The case is founded in large part on quantitative analysis of data extracted from Trismegistos (TM) Names and deriving from the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri. (The Demotic evidence is canvassed conscientiously, but it is exiguous and plays a small role.) The numbers are interpreted in light of a well-informed synthesis of scholarly work on these urban elites. The conclusions are always stimulating and mostly persuasive, although I shall express some reservations.

The book is organized in an introduction and seven chapters. The introduction describes previous work on the subject, then explains TM Names and how it has been used to supply data for this investigation. A synopsis of the chapters follows. The first chapter is devoted to the question of elite formation in Roman Egypt. Broux argues persuasively that the metropolites were, although privileged, not really an elite, because they included many people of modest means. The overlapping, but not identical, body of members of the gymnasial order gradually in her view becomes something more exclusive. She sees it as declining in the third century; similarly (p. 45) the urban “middle class” is seen as starting to disappear in the mid-fourth century (no documentation or bibliography is cited for this view). The concept of an elite is never fully explicated (pp. 49-50 try, not very convincingly): is it a matter of relative or absolute standing? The latter, one might think; but no one in Egypt was an elite if compared with Roman senators, and it may be better to think of multiple elites.

Chapter 2 is about names and related personal descriptors; it sets forth the various naming systems encountered in the papyri, including the Roman *tria nomina*. Broux sees the use of the *tria nomina* by non-citizens as a “persistent problem,” and this view colors later chapters. But it is not clear that this is right. It is worth reflecting on *P.Oxy.* 7.1022 = Cugusi, *C.Epist.Lat.* 140, a letter dated 103 CE in which the prefect communicates to the commander of one of the Ituraean cohorts the names of six approved recruits, all supplied with the *tria nomina*. And yet these are auxiliaries at the start of their term of service, surely not yet citizens. They had almost certainly just received their Roman names, almost without

exception banalities, and from none other than the prefect. Claiming to be a Roman citizen when one was not certainly merited punishment. But Egypt had thousands of men in the military using Roman names without being citizens.

In chapter 3, the documentary base of the book is acutely examined. Broux points out the difficulties that the documents pose. Double names are used most consistently in public documents like *epikrisis*, census, and taxation records. Individuals known to have double names appear often in private documents without the second name; contracts, where formality and clarity were needed, are the exception. As a result, even the high-suction vacuum cleaner used here inevitably misses many people who in fact had double names. The problem is even more acute with women than men, because they are less represented in public documents, although in fact persons with double names are a slightly higher percentage of women than of men. Although 42 percent of *epikrisis* documents contain double names, only 1.9 percent of the total identifiable population bore such names. Broux shows that double names begin to become more popular from the third quarter of the first century on, peaking in the early third century and then declining.

Chapter 4 is devoted to a technical analysis of the formulas of double names. There is a considerable range of ways of marking second names, but most are vanishingly rare. The standard PN ὁ/ἡ καὶ PN occupies 88 percent of the terrain, with a mere 6 percent for the various forms of (ἐπι)καλέω (heavily concentrated in the second century) and the rest vestigial. Scribal failure to decline names makes many seemingly unmarked double names uncertain.

In chapter 5 we turn to the names themselves. Unlike Ptolemaic double names, so overwhelmingly combinations of a Greek and an Egyptian name, the Roman variety are dominantly Greek + Greek (54 percent) or Greek + Latin (15 percent); only 18 percent are Greek + Egyptian, and even fewer (9 percent) double Egyptian names. So far things are fairly straightforward. Looking for coloration within the Greek names is more complicated. Broux adopts a typology of theophoric, dynastic, literary, and personal characteristics, which she apparently regards as more objective than other means of analysis, although she acknowledges the porousness of the categories. (She does not seem very alert to the emergent Christianization of onomastics, perhaps because of her third-century emphasis.) More puzzling is her supposition that some Egyptian names (Amois and Thoonis are her examples) came to be regarded as Hellenic; that they appear commonly in the double-named population in Oxyrhynchus is true,

but we have no access to the thinking of those who used these names, and the argument seems circular.

Several archives offer case studies in chapter 6, in an attempt to get below the quantitative surface and see how double names worked in particular settings. Among them are Tryphon the weaver (first century), completely lacking in double names; the *P.Fam.Tebt.* archive, rich in them in a second-century katoikic (and then Antinoite) family; Sarapion son of Apollonianus (perhaps surprisingly few double names in a high-status family); and eventually Petaus, where the raw material is not family archives but public registers.

Chapter 7 brings the conclusions. Broux convincingly shows that ἐπι-καλούμενος *et al.* belong to a different society from the majority PN ὁ/ἡ καὶ PN, being rural and Egyptian, and typically introducing what she calls “bynames” rather than official double names. Otherwise, we are dealing with a self-consciously Hellenic urban population, many of whom have clear markers of elite status (table, p. 262). The central tendency of PN ὁ/ἡ καὶ PN in the documents is gymnasial, she argues. The less wealthy and hellenized metropolitans are not part of the phenomenon. Double names were in her view a means by which families asserted their identity as such and expressed a connection with Roman power. “They [double names] are the local elite’s answer to imperial policy on nomenclature, which prohibits the emulation of Roman-style polyonymy by non-citizens” (p. 277). This strikes me as most implausible. It is precisely after the Antonine Constitution that the double names become most popular, at a point when no one was prevented from using a Roman name, because everyone was a citizen. The elite of Egypt could have added as many *cognomina* as they wanted to the base of (M.) Aurelius, and some certainly did (as Broux notes).

Despite that disagreement, most of the analysis seems to me sound. The book should encourage others to think of ways to use the (relatively) big data made available by TM’s aggregation and (partial) analysis of information from the papyri. There is much more to be done with the names of the papyri of the Roman period, and the term “path-breaking” is for once appropriate.

Stefanie Schmidt, *Stadt und Wirtschaft im römischen Ägypten. Die Finanzen der Gaumetropolen*. Philippika 76. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014. x + 320 pages, 1 plate, 19 tables. ISBN 978-3-447-10276-6.

In this publication of her 2013 dissertation at Marburg, Schmidt (S.) tackles the finances of the *metropoleis* of Roman Egypt, that is their income and expenditure, how those were managed (which is the focus of her study), and with what impact on the general economy. A brief introduction on aims and problems is followed by two weighty chapters that form the core of the book. Chapter 2 reviews what is known about the local financial administration, that is, officials, documentation, and procedures, before and after the AD 200 introduction of town councils (*boulai*), with much discussion of terminology. Chapter 3 presents the various types of civic income which are attested, and how they were categorised and recorded. There follow three increasingly brief chapters: 4 on known cases of expenditure to fulfil demands of the provincial government, 5 on attested types of local civic expenditure, and 6 reviewing the system of management and its apparent aims and efficacy. A few concluding remarks rephrase the findings of chapter 6 in modern theoretical terminology.

It is a rare pleasure to see other scholars taking a serious interest in the state finances and fiscality of Roman Egypt, and this is the first book-length study devoted to metropolite finances.¹ Following the distribution of the extant and published evidence, S.'s focus is on Hermopolis and Oxyrhynchus and the third century of bouleutic management, although an important exception is the early second-century account of the running costs of the water-supply system at Arsinoe.² Although S. has broader economic aims, chapters 2 to 4 contain a traditional dissertation-like presentation of the evidence, methodically and thoroughly analysing one text after another, which leads to a fair amount of repetition of common points. For the more important documents the Greek text is given in the discussion, with a translation in a footnote; the translations are normally those of the editors, so in various languages. Regrettably this is not best practice in today's world: we want to know what S. understands these documents

¹ Earlier treatment can be found in sections in P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1911) and A.K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971).

² Magisterially republished by W. Habermann, *Zur Wasserversorgung einer Metropole im kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten. Neuedition von P.Lond. III 1177. Text – Übersetzung – Kommentar* (München 2000).

to say, which translation by the author clearly reveals, and the demotion of the translations does not encourage use of the book by non-papyrologists. Indeed the approach is rather wearisome for any reader. Of course S. had to study all these texts carefully, as she clearly has, and probably was expected to present them like this in her dissertation, but if a book on a difficult subject of this nature is to attract readers, a more user-friendly approach is essential: the author could, for instance, make assertions and then explain, without full citation of each document, what the main evidence for each assertion is and the limits of its reliability and applicability.

On the whole S. provides a full, careful, and usually sensible survey of the evidence. Normally her views follow those of previous scholarship. Where she does diverge, such as her suggestion that “private” persons, that is, non-councillors, could be nominated as *exegetai* (pp. 44-50), her interpretation of the texts often raises doubts. But her common refrain, and main problem of making progress in the field, is that even for Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis the evidence is woefully thin, and for Hermopolis concentrated in the so-called *boule* archive of the later third century. Thus certainty about what a financial official was meant to do, or whether a sales tax went to this or that account, and so on, is not achievable, let alone a clear picture of developments. It also seems that we have gained little new evidence of real importance or novelty since 1971, perhaps not because there is none to publish but because it takes a particular type of papyrologist to want to devote time to impenetrable texts about civic finances. The problems of S.’s approach come to a head in chapter 5 on civic expenditure, a mere 22 pages with only one discussion of a text. S. points out, quite correctly, that the evidence for expenditure, though equally restricted, is enough to show that Hermopolis, and also Oxyrhynchus and Arsinoe, were from the second century engaged in massive capital projects and recurrent commitments, whose known costs are enormously greater than the attested sums for items of income. S. discusses one text to show that building costs could be estimated before work began, and later just asserts that the *exetastes* (see chapter 2) would have had the information to balance expenditure with income. This just sidesteps what could have formed the focal question to engage the interest of readers: the *metropoleis*, even before AD 200, were spending massive amounts of money; can we begin to solve the mystery of where they got the income?

Although her title, *Stadt und Wirtschaft*, and introductory comments claim an interest in the economic impact of civic finances in Roman Egypt, this is covered only by a handful of assertions in chapter 6 such as that athletic games will have been good for business, and that civic loans and

employment of craftsmen promoted economic stability. I suspect it would be worth investigating how the elite used civic finances to bolster their own position, by taking cuts out of building projects (comparing Pliny's letters from Bithynia), by making themselves loans at favourable terms (as attested from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe), or by awarding themselves pensions as victorious athletes. However, what really concerns S. in this study is the management systems. Some attempt is made to situate this in modern theory and terminology – notably her concern with whether they could calculate their “IST-Zustand” (running balance), and the closing allusions to New Institutional Economics – but these are just throwaway sentences which do not inform the bulk of her discussion. There is also no comparison with civic and municipal finances in the rest of the empire, which would probably help us understand what we are missing in the Egyptian evidence. We also might be able to understand some aspects of civic finances better if we had a better grasp of general taxation in Roman Egypt; the second most important question, after the income-expenditure problem, is when and how metropolite finances became entangled with central taxation. In sum, for scholars interested in the finances of the *metropoleis* S. has provided a very useful collation of the evidence, and an up-to-date review of the attested officials and institutions for their management. There are, however, big historical questions still to be addressed.

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Katherine Blouin, *Triangular Landscapes: Environment, Society, and the State in the Nile Delta under Roman Rule*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. xxv + 429 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-968872-2.

This book is the first attempt to systematically analyze the various papyri from the Nile Delta (in particular the carbonized papyri from Thmouis) and use them in combination with archaeological data to create a social and environmental history of this region in the early Roman period. The Nile Delta was much different from other Egyptian regions where papyrologists more regularly ply their trade (Fayum; Thebaid; Eastern and Western Desert). As such the book is a welcome addition to recent studies that continue to stress the different microcosms that make up ancient Egypt, even within regions such as the Fayum that have up till recently been happily treated as one.¹

After an introduction that sets out the parameters of the book, nine chapters follow as well as two appendices (1: Mendesian papyrological corpus, 298-300; and 2: Mendesian fiscality in Roman times, 301-335), a Glossary (336-337), a Bibliography (pp. 339-396), and the usual indices (sources and subjects).

The first three chapters are clustered as Part I, “The Mendesian Nome in Context.” Chapter 1 (“Hydrological Context”) gives a brief overview of the hydrological development of this part of the Nile Delta from predynastic times to the Arab period. One of the important features of this region is the sheer force and speed of the Nile flood, which can seriously impact the lives and livelihoods of the people who live here. In this light, it is not surprising to find that people of old have tried to manage the water flow and to limit the negative consequences here. Similarly, Blouin also stresses the fluidity of the Nile Delta over the course of this long period with branches and canals changing course, opening up, or silting up completely. In trying to assess the human hydrological activity in this region it is important to take this into account. One of the noteworthy conclusions is that there was a “more dense and complex hydrological network than has traditionally been assumed” (27).

The second chapter (“Evidence”) discusses the archaeological and papyrological evidence that is available for the Mendesian nome. Blouin gives a detailed history of archaeological activity in two main sites,

¹ E.g., B.J. Haug, *Watering the Desert: Environment, Irrigation, and Society in the Premodern Fayyūm* (Berkeley PhD diss., 2012); A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans: Political and Economic Change in Egypt* (Cambridge 2012).

Mendes and Thmouis. In addition, she provides an overview of all papyri from the Mendesian nome (tabulated in Appendix 1). The third chapter (“The Pre-Roman Mendesian Nome”) provides a narrative that introduces the history of the nome from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period. It appears that the city of Mendes was quite prosperous during those periods for which information is available with peak prosperity in the Saite period. The papyri from the Ptolemaic period, seventeen at current count, all from the mid to late third century BCE, show a thriving metropolis that has overcome numerous destructions during the Persian conquest (343/342 BCE).

Chapters 4 and 5 form the second part of the book (“The Mendesian Landscape under Roman Rule”) and introduce the topography and administration of the nome during early Roman times. Central to the discussion in the first section of Chapter 4 (“Topography and Administrative Geography”) are three maps that are unfortunately not included in the chapter but given separately on pp. xxiii-xxv. They give a visual overview of the nome, its topographic features, and the placement of sites within the nome. The second section of Chapter four tries to give an indication of settlement and population density by using comparative evidence from elsewhere in late period Egypt. The last two sections of this chapter deal with administration (which follows the pattern known from other nomes) and in particular the water management (surveillance, distribution, etc.). Chapter 5 (“Land Categories”) gives what its title tells us, and lists and discusses the different administrative categories of land that are known for the Mendesian nome. This chapter is an expanded version of an earlier paper, including a rather useless repetition of a table (5.1) that indiscriminately lists all land categories in transcribed Greek.²

The third part of the book (“‘Le beau risqué;’ Society, the State, and the Land”) again consists of two chapters with almost poetic titles. Chapter 6 (“How Many Baskets for One’s Eggs? Agricultural Diversification and Fiscality”) addresses the question of agricultural diversification and aims to see whether this was used as a strategy by landholders in the Nile Delta like it was elsewhere in ancient Egypt. The documents show that in the Mendesian nome wheat cultivation was predominant, but that there was ample opportunity for diversification for other crops in areas that were not suited for wheat cultivation. The ubiquitous wetlands in the Delta also allowed hunting, fishing, and gathering to add to the diet. Chapter 7

² K. Blouin, “Between Water and Sand: Agriculture and Husbandry,” in C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2012) 22-37.

(“In the Heart of the Fringe: The Socio-economics of Marginal Land”) centers on areas in the Mendesian nome that were marginal in terms of agricultural production (e.g., semi-arid, wet, submerged plots), but that played their own unique role in the agricultural economy of the Nile Delta.

The final two chapters form the fourth part of the book (“Autopsy of a Region in Crisis”). Both focus on one specific event that took place in the Mendesian nome during the second century CE. Chapter 8 (“‘Ruined they took flight:’ Mendesian Anachôrêsis”) focuses on *anachoresis*, the practice of farmers leaving behind their fields. The documents from the Mendesian nome show that several villages lost a major part of their population between 159/160 and 169/170 CE, and that taxes were suspended in such villages. Blouin puts these numbers against the background of economic ruin for landholders in the Mendesian nome that was the result of both environmental dynamics (e.g. desiccation) and Roman fiscal policies in the course of the second century CE. Chapter 9 (“The Boukoloi Uprising”) gives a reconstruction of this famous uprising in the late 160s CE by using not only known literary sources but also the economic data from the papyri. Blouin offers “a socio-environmental analysis of the uprising,” and points out that many of those involved in the uprising were not so much the “barbarians” of our literary sources, but rather villagers who saw no other way out of their economic situation than to take part in an uprising.

As a rule, most papyrologists are happy to leave the Nile Delta aside, other than to point to the fact that almost no papyri were found in this part of Egypt. This book shows that they do so at their own peril. The Nile Delta is an important region to study, especially when compared and contrasted with the other regions that make up the whole of late period Egypt.

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John Gaudet, *Papyrus: The Plant that Changed the World: From Ancient Egypt to Today's Water Wars*. New York: Pegasus Books, 2014. xix + 300 pages. ISBN 978-1-60598-566-4.

A persuasive argument can be made that few plant species have played such an important role in the development of human civilization as the papyrus plant (*Cyperus papyrus*). This extraordinary species is the focus of the book under review that explores not only the myriad ways in which humans have used papyrus in their lives, but also how human activities have shaped the fate of papyrus wetlands in Africa and the Middle East throughout the millennia.

Starting with the rise of the first complex societies in the Nile Valley, the book traces the close and intricate relationship between early humans and the papyrus plant. Drawing on a diverse range of historical and archeological sources, the author elucidates not only the critical role that the papyrus plant played for early Egyptian material culture, but also how humans utilized ancient papyrus ecosystems. The book is therefore not a papyrology study *sensu stricto*, but rather provides a critically important ecological and societal context that will help inform serious scholars of papyrology. For example, the book discusses in rich detail how pre-dynastic societies were shaped by the ecology of local papyrus wetlands and how papyrus insinuated itself in a variety of ways – with uses ranging from building materials and rope to boats and life preservers, and, of course, as a writing medium – into the life of early Egyptian societies.

In the second half of the book, Gaudet transitions from an analysis of the cultural importance and material benefits of papyrus in traditional Egyptian and African societies to a broader discussion of how humans benefit from papyrus wetlands in general. Integrating diverse lines of evidence, he masterfully demonstrates how the most important benefits that humans receive from papyrus today are not the physical goods, but rather the tremendously important ecosystem services of wetland flow regulation, water filtration, and detoxification. In a wide-ranging consideration of various locales in sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East, often illustrated with personal experiences, he reveals how sustainable use of papyrus wetlands can enrich local residents, and how overexploitation has repeatedly resulted in catastrophic consequences for local societies. For example, in a vivid example from the Hula wetlands of northern Israel, the book illustrates how a well-intentioned, but short-sighted development scheme resulted in the conversion of a lush papyrus wetland oasis into a barren ecological wasteland and a source of polluted air.

The scope of the work is truly sweeping, not only in the historic period it considers, but also in the range of disciplines it includes. Gaudet switches effortlessly from analyses of historical events and discussions of experimental archaeological methods to easily accessible explanations of wetland ecology and the geopolitics of water use in present-day sub-Saharan Africa. The author is trained as an ecologist and has worked for much of his life in African wetlands – as a result this work is informed by an exceptionally deep knowledge of the subject under study. The central arguments of the book are illustrated with numerous line drawings and a central color-plate section. If there is any place where the book can be improved, it is in the quality of the graphics, which at times appear pixelated and unrefined.

The book is written for a broad audience and is easily accessible to the non-specialist, yet at the same time it does an admirable job of maintaining high academic standards: the author documents the sources of the book carefully and provides a balanced discussion of the chief arguments put forward. Furthermore, the text is supported with a detailed reference section.

In summary, Gaudet has written an important book that should be read by anyone interested in understanding the cultural, ecological, economic, and societal context in which papyrus has been used by humans; it deserves a place on every papyrologist's book shelf.

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Johannes Foufopoulos

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